

8026.de.2  
THE  
Bounds set to FRANCE  
BY THE

Pyrenean Treaty ;

And the Interest of the  
CONFEDERATES

Not to accept of the  
Offers of Peace

Made at this Time by the  
FRENCH KING.

To which are added  
Some short Reflections; shewing, How far  
*England* is concern'd in the Restitution of  
that Treaty.

Together with a List of the Towns and  
Countries that the *French* have taken since  
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LONDON: Printed for R. Baldwin, at  
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THE

RECORDS OF THE

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THE  
BOUNDS  
OF  
France, &c.

**F**OUR Things have contributed to render *France* so Potent and Formidable as we behold her at this day. In the first Place, the ill observance of her Word, in reference to Treaties of Peace or Truces concluded with other Sovereign States, and which she has violated in a little time after the Exchange of the Ratifications; which has been the Original of all the terrible Misfortunes that have turmoild

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*Europe*

*Europe* for above these Thirty Years, and which, perhaps, will hardly end but with the Princes Reign that first began the fatal Disturbance.

The second Cause of the Grandeur of *France*, was the easiness she met with to give her Ambition its full Swinge, by pushing forward to the utmost of their Extent her Exorbitant Pretensions to the Territories and Dominions of her Neighbours, with a Resolution to confine 'em within no other Bounds than those of all *Europe*, unless a greater Force oppos'd her.

The third Cause of her Grandeur, is the Arbitrary Power, and the Sovereign Authority which the Reigning Prince has made himself Master of by degrees, by encroaching upon the Liberties of the People, and the Authority of Parliaments. And the fourth, is the extraordinary Means she makes use of to encrease her Treasury, and the good use she makes of it, through the good Conduct of those who are entrusted with the management of it.

As to the first of these Causes, which is, The Violation of Treaties, and which we have made choice of for the Subject of this Discourse; All the World knows the Condition to which *France* was reduc'd, before the Conclusion of the *Pyrenean* Peace; or to descend a little lower, during the King's Minority. She could hardly then bring an Army of a-  
bove

above thirty thousand Men into the Field, and find Mony proportionable to pay 'em. For proof of which, the Queen Mother has been often heard to say, talking Face to Face with her prime Minister *Mazarin*; Good God! where shall we find Men to continue the War, and Mony to supply so many pressing Necessities! And a little while after, did we not see *M. de Turenne* reduc'd to melt down his Plate, and as it were strip himself to the last Farthing, to keep his Army from Perishing? So hard a thing it was to get Mony from the Court, for that many times the Chequer was quite drain'd, and utterly unable to pay the Soldiers.

It may be said, that the French Monarchy was supported then by the Cunning and Policy of her Ministers, rather than by her own Forces. Witness what *Mazarin* said one day to the King. Sir, said he, in respect of the Treasure, *Your Majesties Conquests in your Cabinet*, are without all Contradiction, far the greater Number, than those of your Armies. In a word, the Negotiations and Alliances which were made during *Mazarin's* Ministry, and afterwards under the Marquiss of *Louvois*, contributed more to the Aggrandizing France, and extending her Limits, than the Force of her Arms.

France then having extreamly suffer'd, during the space of several Years that the War with Spain lasted, she was reduc'd to a lamentable condition by reason of her Treas-

ture's being exhausted, and the oppression of her Subjects; and it may be said, that notwithstanding all the Politicks of *Mazarin*, the King was fain to put a good Face upon a bad Matter, which is a thing frequently practis'd among the French. Tho' at the same time she made a bouncing shew of nothing less than of being inclin'd to Peace, a Conduct quite opposite to what she observes at this day: And yet the Proceedings of *Mazarin* made it plainly appear, that *France* had a greater Inclination to it then *Spain*. In a word, that Minister had hardly time to bid the Queen adieu; so earnest he was to be upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom.

But some will object against this, the Pains that *Don Antonio Piemontel* took at *Paris*, to perswade *Mazarin* to hearken to the Propositions of Peace: The great number of Conferences which the Cardinal had with *Don Lewis de Haro*; the Delays and Difficulties that occur'd before the Points of that Peace could be agreed to; all which things manifestly prove the contrary, and that *France* was not so low as I represent her to be. But I answer, that this was only a Master-piece of *Mazarin's* fine-spun Politicks, who made use of all the Shifts and cunning Artifices imaginable, to incline *Don Lewis*, and *Don Piemontel*, the Spanish Plenipotentiaries, to grant him all those Advantages which he look'd for.

In a word, Experience shews us, that he was not deceiv'd, since the Project which he had drawn up at Court was follow'd point by point, and every way to the Advantage of *France*. The greatest Fault that *Spain* at that time committed was, that she did not make choice of a Plenipotentiary more sharp-sighted, and more nimble-witted then *Lewis de Haro*, who was misinform'd of the Rights which the Princes had, who were most remarkably concern'd in that Peace. *Don Lewis* made a World of Oversights in that Negotiation, and had committed many more but for the Assistance of *M. d' Aigremont*, whom the Prince of *Conde* sent away Post out of *Flanders* to instruct him in many things of which he was ignorant.

It was to have bin wish'd, that for the good and repose of all *Europe*, and for the particular Interests of the House of *Austria*, that *Spain* had been more circumspect in an Affair of that great Importance, wherein the high Dispute was, not only about concluding a solid and lasting Peace, but the Marriage of the *Infanta*. And I am perswaded that if the King of *Spain* had had any Idea of good Policy, he would have taken juster Measures then he did, since it was impossible but he must have foreseen, that by that Alliance he went about to lay the foundation of the utter Ruin of the House of *Austria*. Nor did he want any other Example then that of *Lewis XII.*

to teach him that the Matches of the *Infanta* of *Spain*, with the Kings of *France* had bin always fatal to the *Spaniards*.

It must be acknowledg'd that the *Spanish* Court at that time labour'd under a most terrible Blindness, that while they were moyling at the Negotiation of Peace, and the Marriage of the *Infanta*, one of the two young Infant Princes happening to die, there remain'd no more then the Reigning Prince to succeed to the Crown, and he so young and so sickly, that 'twas much question'd whether he would out-live, the third Year of his Age. Nevertheless, the Tidings of that young Prince's death, which ought to have made the Court of *Spain* tremble, considering the Misfortunes that threatned the Kingdom, being carry'd to *Don Lewis de Haro*, never put so much as a Minutes stop to the Negotiation. True it is, that *de Haro* had a deep sense of it; but *Mazarin*, who had his Prospects, redoubl'd his Importunities, and hasten'd more then ever the Conclusion of the Treaty.

When the Kings of *France* had the Misfortune to make Alliances that were likely to prove fatal to 'em, and which infallibly would have prov'd the Ruin of their Dominions, what did they do to break 'em? Witness the Conduct that *Lewis XII.* observ'd upon the like Occasion. He had concluded a Treaty of Confederacy with the Emperor *Maximilian*. The second and third Article of which Treaty imported,



imported, that the two Princes should engage themselves to ratify and confirm the Contract of Marriage concluded between *Charles Duke of Luxemburgh* Son of Arch-duke *Philip*, and *Madam Claudia of France*, the most Christian King's Daughter.

*Lewis* promis'd, that in case he died without Issue Male, that the Dutchies of *Milan*, *Genoa*, as also the Countries of *Ast* and *Blon*, and all the other Lands and Signiories of his Demesnes should be deliver'd up, after his Death, and immediately after the Consummation of the Marriage of the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with *Madam Claudia of France*, into the Hands of that Princess his Heiress, to enjoy to Perpetuity, upon condition that if she happen'd to have any Sisters, she should allow 'em a Dowry in Money proportionable to their Birth.

The Ministers of *Lewis XII.* after they had seriously consider'd how disadvantageous this Marriage was to *France*, and how powerful the House of *Austria* was like to grow, set all their Engins at work to break it. To which purpose, by the King's consent, there was an Assembly order'd to be summon'd, which was held in the Year 1506. at *Plesses-Les-Tours*, where the King was present, and by a knack of Policy, as daring as well found out, they order'd underhand, a famous Doctor of the University of *Paris* to appear upon the Stage, who came and made a Speech to the King,

beseeching him in the Name of all the States of *France* to match the Princess, his Daughter, with the Duke of *Valois*, presumptive Heir of the Crown.

This Doctor, with so much Eloquence, set before the King, the Misfortunes that suddenly threatned *France*, if he suffer'd Madam *Claudia* to marry *Charles* of *Austria*, or any other Foreign Prince, that from that very moment the Match was brok'n off; and by that manner of Proceeding *Lewis* XII. disingag'd himself from his Word and Oath; and the Treaty which was made in 1501. and confirm'd by another three Years after at *Blon*, was declar'd null and void.

There's no Question to be made but that *Lewis* the XII. himself was the Person who order'd the Duke of *Valois* to be nominated to him by all the States of the Kingdom, to the end that by that means he might bring himself off fairly from his Agreements with *Maximilian* and *Philip* his Son, who had reckon'd upon the word of that Prince, as upon a thing that was irrevocable.

This is an Example past all Contradiction, besides a great number of others that might be found in History, sufficient to justifie the Reasons which the Court of *Spain* had then, had she minded her own Interests, to have refus'd the Marriage of the *Infanta* to *Lewis* XIV. who was a Foreign Prince, that they might have bestow'd her upon the Emperor's Son,  
ed who

who was of the House of *Austria*, and had demanded her at the same time.

However it were, *Mazarin* in this particular acted the part of a great Politician, and not to mention other Important Services which he did the French Monarch, it may be said, that tho' he had done nothing else during the whole course of his Ministry, this alone was a thing that never ought to be forgot by *France*. So that he made no scruple, to write to Monsieur *le Tellier*, immediately after the signing of the Treaty, " That there was great Reason to hope a long continuation of the Treaty, in regard that both Parties were equally satisfy'd. But that in his Opinion, the King had reason to be more contented, because that all the advantage was on his side : And, besides, that there was also this farther Benefit, that *Don Lewis*, believing he had don his Business admirably well, would never dream of laying hold upon Opportunities for the future; should they present themselves, to repair the great Prejudices that *Spain* had receiv'd by the Conclusion of that Peace.

However, had *France* stook to this Treaty, how disadvantageous soever it was for *Spain*, and had not transgress'd the Limits that were prescrib'd him, we should not have now beheld all *Europe* in Arms, and the Princes of the August League unanimously resolv'd not to surcease the War, till *France* has restor'd to

every one what she has wrested from 'em since the Conclusion of that Treaty. Her want of Faith and Sincerity not only transported her to declare her self the Irreconcilable Enemy of the House of *Austria*, by vertue of those Rights which she pretends to claim as yielded up to her by vertue of that Peace, but has openly invaded the Dominions of other Sovereigns of *Europe*; and without any other Right and Title, then the Challenges of her Ambition and Power, she has run her self into those Excesses, that now make her lookt upon with Detestation and Abhorrency.

We have shew'd ye the Fault, never to be repair'd, that the Court of *Spain* committed in consenting to the Marriage of the *Infanta* with *Lewis XIV.* and to a Treaty of Peace so disadvantageous to her Interests. Now let us see the fatal Event that attended 'em, and begin with the Bounds that were prescrib'd to *France* by the Treaty; which done we will examin the Conduct which she observ'd, to extend those Limits as far as we see 'em now extended: And, lastly, we shall conclude with representing to the Princes of the League, the necessity of being inexorable to the Importunities of *France* for Peace, unless extreamly to their Advantage: Their Interest to keep inviolably united together, and never to listen to the Proposals of *France*, unless she makes Restitution of all that she has usurp'd since the *Pyrenean Peace*.

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All the World knows, that the main thing that obstructed the *Pyrenean Treaty*, was the Accommodation of the Prince of *Conde*. We shall not, therefore, trouble our selves to recite all the Particulars that pass'd in the great number of Conferences between the Ministers of the two Crowns upon this Subject, as being otherwhere to be met with. 'Tis sufficient to say, that *Mazarin* had the Honour of the Triumph, and that he obtain'd of *Don Lewis* all that he could expect. So true it is, that the Right and Justice of a good Cause are not battry proof against the Artifices of a Crafty Minister, and that Honesty and Sincerity frequently become the Cullies of wily Cunning.

*Don Lewis* demanded, that the Prince in consideration of the Services which he had done *Spain*, should be restor'd to the Governments and Employments which he possess'd before his disgrace, and that the King should secure the Enjoyment of 'em to him and his Son the Duke of *Enguien*.

*Mazarin*, who was the Prince's Irreconcilable Enemy, neatly eluded all that *Don Lewis* could advance to support his Pretensions, and told him in a word, that it would be a fruitless loss of Time to make many Disputes about a thing, which the King, his Master, would never consent to. That the Restoration of the Prince to his Governments and Employments, was enough to open a wide Gate

Gate for Rebellion, and to encourage the great Lords of *France* to take up Arms against their Sovereign, and take part with her Enemies upon the least discontent.

*Mazarin's* unshaken Constancy in this Particular, quite disarm'd *Don Lewis*, and was the reason, that at length he granted *France* the two Important Places of *Avennes* and *Juliers*, to obtain the Prince's Restoration. So that had not *Mazarin* bin afraid of some unlucky Disappointment, as well on the King of *Spain's* part, who might alter his Resolution, and refuse his consent to the *Infant's* Marriage; as on the Christian Kings side, who was become passionately in love with his Niece, to whom he had made Promises of Marriage: These Considerations, I say, made him press on the Negotiation, or otherwise 'tis most certain that *Mazarin* had also obtain'd the City of *Cambray*.

'Tis true, that in the first Conferences *Don Lewis* had propos'd to the Cardinal to make an Exchange of *Bethune* and *St. Venant*, for some other Places which he offer'd to give him, upon condition he would consent to let 'em go. *Mazarin* enlarg'd himself at first very cunningly upon the Difficulties of accepting an exchange of two such Posts, so important and useful to *France*; however, if *Don Lewis* would part with the City of *Cambray*, together with *Cambresis*, he hop'd he might be able to persuade the King not only to deliver up

*Bethune,*

the *Bethune* and *St. Venant*, but also *Bergues* and *Bassee*.

*Doñ Lewis*, having consider'd with himself, that the loss of *Cambray* would be a great disadvantage to *Spain*, and that thereby the whole Low Countries would be expos'd to the Invasions of *France* upon the first Rupture, return'd for Answer to the Cardinal, that he would never consent to the exchange of a Foffress so considerable.

In the mean time Cardinal *Mazarin*, being very well satisfi'd with *Avennes* and *Fuliers*, thought he had gain'd sufficient, to make amends for his missing *Cambray*. Which made him say one day, as he was talking to *M. de Lionne*, that if he could but persuade *Spain* to deliver up *Fuliers* to the Duke of *Newburgh*, t'would be a great satisfaction to him, as being convinc'd that it would be more for the Honour of *France*, then the winning of four good Towns.

So that he made no scruple of writing to the Duke of *Orleans*, " That he had not only  
 " got *Avennes*, which his Royal Highness  
 " deem'd so important, but also the Restitu-  
 " tion of *Fuliers* to the Duke of *Newburgh*,  
 " with other Advantages, which had cost the  
 " King no more then the Government of *Bur-*  
 " gundy for the Prince, and the Employment  
 " of *Grand Maistre* for the Duke of *Anguien*  
 " his Son.

*Avennes,*



*Avennes*, as all the World knows, is a Place of Importance in the Low Countries within the Province of *Hainault*, between the *Sambre* and the *Meuse*. It bears the Title of an Earldom, and lies not above four Leagues from *Landrecy*, and as many from *Maubeuge*. And this Town was in part the Boundary that was allotted to *France* on that side: And by the yielding up of that City, the particular Interests of the Prince of *Chimai*, were sacrific'd to the Publick. Now let us view the rest of the Boundaries.

By the XXXV. Article of the Treaty it was concluded, That the King of *France* should remain seiz'd of, and effectually enjoy the following Places, *viz.* *Arras* in the County of *Artois*, *Hesden*, *Bapaume*, *Bethune*, *Lillier*, *Lens* in the County of *St. Pol*, *Terroane*, *Renti*, as also all the other Bailliages and Castellans-ships of the said *Artois*; except only *Aire* and *St. Omer*, with their Appurtenances and Annexes.

By the XXXVI. Article it was agreed, That in the Province of *Flanders*, the King of *France* should be possess'd of *Graveline*, the *Fort Philip*, *Ecluse*, *Hannuin*, *Bourbourg* and *St. Venant*.

By the XXXVII. it was concluded, That in the Province and County of *Hainault*, the most Christian King should enjoy *Landrecy* and *Quesnoi*.

By



By the XXXVIII. Article it was likewise agreed, That the most Christian King should enjoy in the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, the strong Holds of *Thionville*, *Montmedi* and *Damvilliers*; the Provostship of *Ivoy*, *Chavanci*, *Chateau* and the Provostship belonging to it, the Town and Post of *Marville*, seated upon a little River called *Vexin*, which belong'd formerly in part to the Dukes of *Luxemburgh*, and partly to those of *Barr*.

By the XXXIX. it was agreed, That *Mariembourg* and *Philippeville*, seated between the *Sambre* and the *Meuse*, with their Appurtenances and Annexes should be allowed the most Christian King, in exchange for *la Bassée* and *Berg St. Winoc*, and the Fort Royal, of which the Catholick King was to remain in Possession.

By the XLIV. Article it was covenanted, That the Catholick King should re-enter into, and enjoy the County of *Charleroy*.

By the XLV. the King of *Spain* engag'd to restore to the most Christian King, *Rocray*, *Chatelet* and *Linchamp*, with their Dependences and Annexes,

By the XLVI. Article it was agreed, That the most Christian King should restore to the Catholick King, the Cities and Places of *Tyre*, *Dixmude*, *Oudenard*, *Furnes*, with their Dependences, &c.

These were the Boundaries prescrib'd to *France* in the Low Countries: We shall now set

set down the Bounds that were assign'd her in Spain.

By the Negotiation began at *Madrid*, in the Year 1656. upon which the present Treaty was groundd, it was concluded, That the *Pyrenean Mountains*, which had anciently divided *Spain* from *Gaul*, should also part the two Kingdoms at this day.

In pursuance of which, the most Christian King was to remain in Possession of all the County of *Viguery* or Jurisdiction of *Roussillon*, of the County and Jurisdiction of *Conflans*, and of the Countries, Cities, Places, Castles, Burroughs, Villages and other Places of which it consists. It was also agreed, That the County of *Cerdagne*, in the Principality of *Catalonia*, should remain in the Hands of the most Catholick King.

By the XLIX. the most Christian King engages to restore to the Catholick King, the strong Holds and Ports of *Roses*, *Trinity Fort*, *Cape de Quers*, *la Seu d' Urgel*, *Toxen*, the Castle of *Bastide*; the Towns and strong Holds of *Baga*, *Ripol*, and the County of *Cerdagne*, wherein are *Belver*, *Puicerda*, *Carol*, and the Castle of *Cerdagne*, in the same condition as then it was. 'Twas also said, That Part of *Cerdagne*, that lay in the *Pyrenean Mountains* on that side next *France*, should remain to his most Christian Majesty, as should be regulated by Umpires on both sides.

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The Boundaries allotted to *France* on *Germany* side were *Juliers*, the chief City of the Dutchy of the same Name, which belong'd to the Duke of *Newburg*, from whom it had bin taken by the *Spaniards*, but restor'd to him again by the Treaty : And so the Duke of *Newburg* being a Confederate with *France*, that Place was at her Disposal ; and as such, we shall look upon it as one of the Barriers that were assign'd her on that side. As for *Lorrain*, the most Catholick King consented by the LXII. Article, that it should be restor'd to her Lawful Sovereign, upon condition that the Duke should demolish the Fortifications of *Nanci* ; never to be repair'd any more. He consented also, that the fore-mention'd Duke should be resettl'd in the Cities, Places and Countries which he formerly possess'd, depending upon the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, except *Moyenvic*, surrender'd to *France* by the Treaty of *Munster*, in 1648. excepting also the County of *Clermont*, and the Demesnes belonging to it, and the Fortresses, Provostships and Territories of *Stenai*, *Dun* and *Famets*, with their Revenues ; which Places, together with the Dutchy of *Barr*, were to remain united to the Crown of *France*.

On *Alsatia* side it was agreed by the LXVII. Article, That his Catholick Majesty should, by the Treaty, renounce all Rights and Pretensions which he had or might have hereafter

to the upper and lower *Alfatia*, the *Zuntga*, the County of *Ferrette*, *Brisac* and its Dependencies; as also to all the Countries, Places, Rights and Claims that were surrendered to his most Christian Majesty by the Treaty of *Munster*, *Octob. 4. 1648.* to be united and incorporated into the Crown of *France*: His Catholick Majesty approving, by vertue of the said Renunciation, the Contents of the said Treaty: In lieu of which Renunciation his most Christian Majesty engages to make just payment of the three Millions of *Livers* which he was oblig'd by the said Treaty to pay the Archdukes of *Inspruch*.

In the County of *Burgundy*, it was concluded by the XLVIII. Article, That the most Christian King should restore to the Catholick King, the Fortresses of *St. Amour*, *Bleteranc*, *Toux* and their Dependences, together with all the Fortifi'd Posts possess'd by the Arms of his most Christian Majesty within the said County, without reserving or detaining any thing to himself.

As to *Italy*, it was covenanted by the XLVII. Article, That the most Christian King should restore to the Catholick King the Fortresses of *Valence* upon the *Po*, and *Mortara* with their Dependences. On the part of *Spain*, *Vercueil* was to be restor'd to the Duke of *Savoy*, the King of *France's* Confederate.

For Brevity's sake, we shall content ourselves, with allowing on *Italy*-side for the French

French Limits, the Important Place of *Pignerol*, which we may number among the Fortunate Acquisitions of the King of *France* during his Reign; and wherein Negotiation and Artifice had a greater share than the pretended Claims which he has always boasted. Such are the Cities of *Dunkirk*, *Casal* and *Straßburgh*, of which more at large in the sequel of our Discourse. It will be sufficient at present to say, That the most Christian King made himself Master of *Pignerol* by virtue of a particular Treaty made with the Duke of *Savoy*, by which that Prince deliver'd to him that Fortrefs, and had in recompence some certain Territories in *Montferrat*, for which his Majesty promis'd to pay the Duke of *Mantua* the Sum of Fourteen Millions in Gold. Thus *France* has kept it ever since. And by means of that Fortrefs, has secur'd her Frontiers on that side, and has preserv'd a Passage open to fall into *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, when she pleases, and carry her Arms into the Heart of the Territories of the *Italian* Princes. By the Surrender of that Place, the Dukes of *Savoy* despoil'd themselves of the ancient Liberty which they formerly enjoy'd, and are become Slaves and Victims to the most Christian King.

Thus in a few Words, we have set down the Limits that were assign'd to *France* by the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and, as I may so say, the most essential part of that famous Negotiation.

I might add to all these Advantages which the most Christian King receiv'd, the particular Interests of the Princes ally'd to *Spain*, which *Don Lewis* sacrific'd with so much Impudence and Cruelty, only to improve and advance the Interests of the Prince of *Conde* which vex'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to the Soul to see himself despoyl'd of half his Territories by a Treaty. Who, thereupon, arriving Post at the Place where the Conferences were held, his Resentment transported him to the degree, that he told *Don Lewis* to his Face 'Twas a shame to see with what Ingratitude the House of *Austria* repaid the great Services which he had done it for about eight and twenty Years together. That, in short, if he must be so stripp'd of his Territories; there remain'd nothing more for him to do, but to commit himself to Sea, and wander on the Waves till Fortune found him out a Resting Place.

*Mazarin*, whose aim it was to draw that Prince into a closure with *France*, was overjoy'd to see him under those Disturbances, as well to mortifie him, as to renew his vexation for not having laid hold of those Advantages which the most Christian King had formerly propos'd to him, would he have embrac'd her Interests, and abandon'd the House of *Austria*.

And indeed *France* offer'd to restore the best part of *Lorrain*, and all his Territories; as also to lend him Forces, in order to Besiege

*Clermont*

ermont and Stenay, in the peaceable Possession of which he should have remain'd: To have given him *Mogenvic*, which was at his Majesties Disposal: And besides all these great Advantages, the King promis'd to look upon him as a Prince, to whom he should have been holding, for having assisted him at a time when the Civil Wars afflicted *France*. But the Duke of *Lorraine* too much addicted to the House of *Austria*, slighted all these Offers, perswading himself that the King of *France* would make him pay dearly for 'em, if he would accept 'em.

The Unfortunate Prince then finding that he had no time to lose, because the Plenipotentiaries were just ready to Sign, offer'd *Mazarin* as his last Remedy, to perswade *Don Lewis* to allow *France* a considerable Thorow-way into *Alsatia* through *Franche Comte*, with all the Towns and Cities that lay upon that passage, provided the King would release to him the Dutchy of *Barr*; which was so inconsiderable a thing said he, that he would give the Cardinal his Oath, that it never yielded him 4000 Livers a Year. But the two Plenipotentiaries met with so many difficulties to agree upon Expedients to the Duke's Content, that *Mazarin* carried it in this, as he had done in all other things. Besides that, he was desirous to reserve for the King his Master's Honour of doing the Duke of *Lorraine* a Kindness, as he had done in reference to the Prince



Prince of *Conde*, to the end he might bind both the one and the other so much the faster to his Interests; and because it should ne'er be said, that *Spain* should one day boast to have inforc'd *France* to make Restitution of what belong'd to those Princes, at the Peril of his Majesties Clemency, who reserv'd the Honour of it wholly to himself.

But if *Spain* took little care of the Interests of her Confederates, *France* took a quite contrary Course in respect of *Portugal*, the Dukes of *Newburg*, *Savoy* and *Modena*, her Allies; for whom the Cardinal procur'd all the Advantages they could expect. What an Honour was it for *France*, what a Happiness at the same time for the Duke of *Newburg*! He did but enter into an Alliance with *France*, and presently had his Territories restor'd him. *France* quits all, abandons a part of her own Interests, and causes Restitution to be made of the City of *Fuliers*, to the prejudice of the Emperor's and the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* Claims: While on the Part of *Spain*, such Sovereign Princes as the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had serv'd her above Eight and twenty Years, are depriv'd of all.

In truth, most Serene Princes, who are at this day united in Confederacy against *France*, as I cannot but reflect upon a Conduct so little becoming the Justice of a potent Monarchy, so I cannot but humbly lay before you this Noble Memento. That being upon the point of concluding



inding a Peace with the Most Christian King,  
 fast-stands with your Honour to take a care,  
 n'er that it be not a Peace like the rest, and that  
 t to one of the Princes comprehended in this Au-  
 of ult Confederacy, wherein you have so justly  
 Peril m'd your selves, may have the like oc-  
 the sion to charge you with the same Re-  
 roach.

rests Methinks I hear *France* already loudly giv-  
 con- g out, as she did in the time of *Charles* the  
 takes, and *Francis* I. That the Protection of the  
 ies; House of *Austria* was never capable of secu-  
 Ad- ing the Princes that sided with her from Op-  
 our- pression. Witness, say they, what at that  
 the me befell the Dukes of *Savoy*, and what has  
 did fallen Duke *Victor Amedeas* II. Which man-  
 and- ner of Arguing, makes me judge that *France*  
 him- is a strong Confidence in the Engine she is  
 own- ing at work to bring him off from the  
 made confederacy, she fails not to Peal in his  
 f the ars, that he is upon the brink of being For-  
 gh- ken by the rest of the Princes, as his Ance-  
 such- ters the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Prince of  
 ain, himai were formerly; and as an accumu-  
 entry- tion to his Misfortune, of seeing his unhap-  
 y Dominions become the Innocent Victim of  
 this e Common-Cause, which frequently Sacri-  
 as lices the Weakest.

be- But let us return to our Subject: And now  
 so behold all *Europe* wistfully expecting to enjoy  
 ble the Sweets of a solid and durable Peace, after  
 con- which she has panted so many Years. *Spain*  
 ling is

is the first that has reason to conceive great Hopes from so August a Treaty, and an Alliance that one would think should revive the Amity that flourish'd betwen the two Houses in the Reigns of *Ferdinand* and *Lewis XII*. Those two Princes in testimony of their intended constant Union, and inviolable Friendship, would needs that the first Article of the Treaty of *Blois*, should be express'd in these Words, *The Most Christian King, and the Catholick King shall be as two Souls in one and the same Body.*

Would to God we had as much reason on our side to continue the same Language, and that we had not rather cause to say of *Lewis XIV.* what the Historian said of the *Dauphin* who fled for Succour to the Court of *Burgundy*; that upon the Marriage of the Monarch with the Infanta of *Spain*, Hired, Altecration, Discord, Brangling, &c. As the Devils entred with him into the House of *Austria*. 'Tis also observable, that the day when that unhappy Alliance was concluded was so Tempestuous and so outrageously Stormy, that the Plenipotentiaries were at a loss whether they should stay or run out of the Room, so great the Danger was that threaten'd 'em. It seem'd as if Heaven had had a design to have hinder'd the conclusion of a Contract that was made on purpose to sow the Seeds of those Dismal Confusions and Calamities that afterwards o'erwhelm'd all Europe.

And thus we have seen the Bounds that were prescrib'd to *France* by the *Pyrenean* Treaty. Now let us see how far either her Ambition or her breach of Faith extended 'em, and the Springs that she set at work to invade the Possessions of her Neighbours, and to Cloath her self with the Spoils of so many Oppressed Princes, whom she Sacrificed to her Avarice, to form the Powerful Monarchy that so long has been the Terror of *Europe*. Modern Historians have great reason to say, That *France* is now no longer to be found in *France*, she is become so much alter'd and out of Knowledge. How many States, Signories, Demesnes and Principalities has she Invaded! What Potentate could vaunt himself secure from her impious Tyranny! I find not any in all the four Parts of the World: The whole Earth upbraids her with her Infidelity.

Let 'em not tell me, that *France* has obtain'd to that high degree of Exaltation and Power, by the Rights or Claims that have been yielded to her by virtue of Alliances, or Treaties, which have succeeded that of the *Pyrenans*. For to that I answer, That the Princes of the League are not to take notice of any other then the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and that 'tis a favour done her if they should not dispute the Places with her that were allowed her by that Treaty, which was brought to Perfection to the Advantage of *France*, by the

C

Treachery

Treachery and Cunning of *Mazarin* prevailing over the Weakness and witless Insufficiency of *Don Lewis*.

'Tis a Truth so generally receiv'd that all the World knows it, That *France* constrain'd the Confederates, by force of Arms, to conclude the two Treaties of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Nimeguen*. So that if the Duke of *Venice* *Andrea Gritti*, call'd the City of *Cambray* the *Venetian's* Purgatory, because all the Treaties there concluded between the two Emperors and the two Kings of *France*, had bin fatal to the most Serene Republick: We may with as much reason call the Cities of *Aix la Chappelle* and *Nimeguen*, the Purgatories of the *Spaniards* and the Confederates in regard of the Injustice of *France* appropriating to her self, while she had such numerous Armies on foot, the greatest part of their Territories under pompous and chimerical Titles, claims of the Queen, Right of Devolution, Dependency and Convenience, &c.

And, indeed, if I may presume to say so *France* may be said to have soundly purg'd both *Spain* and the Confederates by the Treaties of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Nimeguen*, if we consider the Losses which they have sustain'd through the surrender of a great many Towns and Fortresses, to which the King of *France's* Power constrain'd 'em, and to which he had no Right: God grant we may not fall into the like Misfortunes if it should come to ano-

the

ther Treaty, in the management of which it will behove the Confederate Princes to make choice of able and faithful Plenipotentiaries. Let 'em remember, that if *Mazarin* had the Honour to carry away all the Advantages that France could expect from the *Pyrenean* Negotiation; *Colbert Croissi* was no less successful in that of *Nimeguen*: And that both the one and the other of those Ministers, were as cunning to improve their Interests, as the other side were unwary and negligent in suffering themselves to be surpriz'd.

After the *Pyrenean* Peace, the first step that France made to the extending of her Limits into Germany, was, to take a fair occasion to despoil the Duke of *Lorrain* of his Territories: And this that follows, was the suggestion of her Crafty Ambition. The King of France always made a cunning use of Marriages, and we see but very few Negotiations wherein he has not affected to employ Women; because they are really insinuating, for that the Man must be very obdurate, who can resist the effects of their Charms.

The King then proposed to the Duke (believing that he would refuse him) a Match between Prince *Charles* his Nephew, and a Princess of France. The Duke appear'd as cold as Ice, as having no mind to listen to the Proposal, and, in short, refused to consent to it; persuading himself that the Alliance would prove fatal to him, and be the infallible Ruin

of his Territories, and his Nephew that was to succeed him. *France* finding the first Hoop would not take, bethought her self of another Artifice. She set a foot Suspitions, Distrusts and Menaces. Suspitions, by representing to the Duke, that Prince *Nicholas Francis* his Brother, and Prince *Charles* his Nephew betray'd him, and held Intelligence with the Court of *France*, tho' there were no things so false. Which done, perceiving the Duke would not declare himself, she rais'd her Tone a little higher, and gave him to understand, that if he continued obstinate in giving his consent to the Marriage, she would seize upon his Territories, and deliver 'em in to the Hands of his Nephew.

The Duke, who had had sufficient Experience all his Life time, what *France* would do if she were not obey'd, thought there was no way to recoil, but that her unfortunate Destiny had plung'd him into an Abyss, from whence he should never be able to deliver himself, but by the loss of what he had most dear and valuable in this World, that is to say, his Liberty and his Territories. So that he resolv'd to strip himself of his Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, with their Dependences and Annexes in favour of *France*, to the end that she should enjoy 'em after his Death, with all the Rights and Priviledges of Sovereignty and that they should for ever be united and incorporated into the Demains of the Crown.

only

only that he should enjoy 'em during his Life.

But the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had shew'd so much Constancy at other times, when *France* sought his Destruction, now imprudently fell into the Springes which she set for him. Which made the Politicians say, That he had more Folly than Judgment in his Conduct. If we consider one Circumstance, that happen'd the very day that he surrender'd his Territories to *France*, and which is very remarkable, it must be agreed, that the Duke had in a manner lost his Senses. For you must know, That this same Prince being lockt up in a Chamber, where he was left all alone for a while, and afterwards told, That he must never think to be let out again till he had renounc'd his Territories: The Duke, who found himself to be a Prisoner, resolv'd at length to purchase his Liberty at the expence of all his Signiories. To which purpose, he took the Pen, Ink and Paper, that was left him upon the Table, and drew up in Writing, a Draught of the Resignation of his Dutchies to *France*. After he had finish'd the Draught, he fill'd the Margin of Resignation with a great number of little Birds, which he drew with his Pen, and sent the whole to be deliver'd to his Majesty, who could not forbear Laughing, to see such an Aviary in Paper: An undeniable Proof that the Duke knew not what he did.



These were the first Fruits which France reaped from the *Pyrenean Peace*, and the effect of the LXVII. and LXIX. Articles. *Mazarin* took care to insert into the Article of the Treaty, and which he needs would undertake to dictate himself. By the first it was agreed, That neither Duke *Charles*, nor any Prince of his House, should continue in Arms, but should be oblig'd to disband his Forces upon the Publication of the Peace. The second Article confirm'd, That the Duke should allow a free Thorough-fare for his Majesties Armies to march into *Alsatia*, to *Brisac* or *Philipsburgh*, when ever the King should demand it. Observe the depth of the Artifice. *France* consents that *Lorrain* should be restor'd to her Lawful Sovereign, but she reserves Passages and Thorough-fares to return thither when she pleases. She consents, That a Sovereign Prince shall enjoy his Liberty for the future; but, first, he must lay down his Arms; secondly, he must demolish the Fortifications of his strong Holds, and *France* must have the keeping of the Keys of his Dominions; to the end, that when she has a mind to make her self Mistress of 'em, she may do it without meeting any Resistance.

Thus you see the Bounds of the French Monarchy enlarg'd of a sudden, and extended into *Germany*, by the addition of all the Territories of a Sovereign Prince, without having any Right or Pretence to Invade 'em, but because



cause they lay convenient for her: Tho' Advocate *Talon* spent all the Reason and Argument he had to the last drop, to prove the contrary in a full Parliament; asserting, That *Lorraine* had always depended upon the Crown of *France*, and, consequently, that 'twas but just it should be re-united to the Crown.

The King of *France*, considering the good luck that had attended him on *Germany* side, turn'd all his Designs toward the Low Countries, to see whether Fortune would present him with any favourable occasion to aggrandize himself, and enlarge his Frontiers that way. To that purpose, he cast his Eyes upon *Dunkirk*, with a Resolution to sacrifice Hecatombs, so he might but get that Important Place out of the Hands of the English. And, indeed, the strict Ties of Amity contracted with King *Charles*, during his Exile, had decoy'd that Unfortunate Prince into an Engagement not to refuse him any thing; and, knowing his weak side, he made him an Offer, underhand, of four Millions, and a fair Mistress over and above the Market-price: Charms sufficiently powerful to engage him to make such a false Step, as render'd, and will for ever render, both him and his Memory odious to Posterity.

But the Ambition of *France* stopt not here; there was a necessity of giving it its full swinge; the Revenues and Right of the Church must not be spar'd, when the Aggrandisement

disement of *France* was the main thing in dispute. Her Bounds were still too narrow for her to be confin'd within 'em. Therefore she fell upon Pope *Alexander VII.* and seiz'd upon *Avignon*, after she had enrag'd the People of that City to mutiny against the Governour. If you ask what Ground she had for her Pretensions? She will answer, That the Pope did not do what he would have had done for him. Hence it came to pass, that the order of all things was ranvers'd. The eldest Son of the Church takes up the Rod to chastise the common Father of the Christians; because he proves disobedient; whereas, 'tis generally seen, that Fathers correct their Children when they fail of their Duty.

*Pepin*, the Son of *Charles Martell*, the Twenty Third King of *France*, of the second Race, was the Glory of his Age, and the greatest Example of Piety and Veneration towards the Popes, of any among all our Kings. His Zeal so eminent, when he march'd into *Italy* to succour Pope *Zachary*, most cruelly persecuted by the *Lombards*; the Marks of his Friendship and Tenderneſs bestow'd upon Pope *Stephen III.* who fled for Refuge into *France*; and his raising the Siege of *Rome*, which *Astolphus*, King of the *Lombards* was constrain'd to quit, as being enforced to sue for Peace to *Pepin*, who kept him close block'd up; all these signal Services which he did the holy See, acquir'd him the glorious Sir-name of *Mosſi Christian*.  
Now

Now if we compare King *Pepin's* Conduct, with the Behaviour of *Lewis XIV.* toward the Popes, 'twill be no difficult thing to conclude, that the Court of *Rome* never had a greater Enemy then this Prince; and, consequently, that there is nothing which he less deserves then the Sir-name of Most Christian. If you demand a Reason for all these Extravagancies, you need no more then consult his Ambition; that Passion will make answer, That when once it got Possession of his Heart, there was nothing in the World which it did not prompt him to undertake for the satisfaction of it. So that 'tis no wonder if the Rights of the Church, and whatever is more Sacred and Augst, are become Victims to his Exorbitant Desires.

But what does *France* do further still? She was oblig'd by one of the Articles to abandon the Protection of *Portugal*; promising, withal, to employ her utmost Industry to persuade that Prince, in Friendly Terms, to compose the Differences which he had with *Spain*. But hardly were the Ratifications exchange'd, before she made a Laughing Stock of her Promises: She gave out Commissions underhand, and caus'd the Drums to beat up publicly at *Paris*, in order to the Raising of Souldiers for the service of that Crown.

But all this is nothing: Here comes another Tragical Event, that makes her Mistress, all of a sudden, of a vast extent of Country, of

several Signiores, Dukedoms, Marquisats and Earldoms; and because that was not enough to satisfy her unsatiable Avarice, whole Kingdoms must become her Victim and her Prey. I mean the Death of *Philip IV.* The loss of that Prince drew Tears from the Eyes of *Spain*, and all *Europe*; but *France* leapt for Joy. That Ambitious Potentate finding the time was come to spread abroad his vast Designs, and extend his Limits, at the Expence of the House of *Austria*, sacrifices whatever is most sacred in Religion, and in the venerable Alliance which he had contracted: Neither Honour, Oaths, Faith solemnly sworn, nothing is capable to stop him.

However, that he might still preserve some shadow of Justice, and authorize his Conduct by some shew of Reason, his Majesty published a Manifesto, wherein he set up the Queens claim to *Brabant*, and some other Provinces of the Low Countries. This Right was otherwise called a devolved Right, by vertue of which a Brother born in the second Wedlock, is excluded from the Succession, by a Sister of the first Venter. And this is the Dispute between *France* and *Spain*; *Charles II.* being the Issue by the second Marriage.

The King of *France*, therefore, having demanded of the Queen Regent of *Spain* the Dominions devolved to him in right of *Maria Teresa* his Wife, he would not stay till the Council of *Spain* return'd him an Answer.

His Impatience to aggrandize himself and extend his Limits, spurr'd him on to be beforehand with all the World : So that without any Declaration of War he seizes upon *Bergue, Furnes, Tournai, Douay, Courtray, L' Isle, Oudenard, Aloft*, and all the Places that lay convenient for him : And to these Conquests, he joins the Important Cities of *Salins, Besançon* and *Dole* ; after which follow'd the total Reduction of *Franche Compté*.

Nothing could stop the Rapidness of his Arms; there was a necessity of altering his Bounds, and he must enlarge 'em to the utmost extent of his boundless Ambition. Nothing could stand in his way but the Triple Alliance; nothing else could make him consent to a Treaty of Peace : By which he restores back to *Spain* nothing but what he pleases himself, while he keeps those Places which he deems of greatest Importance, and most proper to favour his Enterprizes. He therefore consents to a Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle*, but with a mental Reservation, as *Mentruin* call'd it; that is to say, That he promis'd *Spain* to lay down his Arms, provided she quits to him all the Places and Towns, that he had seiz'd in 1667. reserving to himself a Power to begin the War agen, so soon as the Peace should be concluded.

*Spain* is there enforc'd to quit *Charleroy, Binch, Ath, Douay, Tournay, Oudenard, L' Isle, Armentier, Courtray, Bergh and Furnes*, with all

all their Dependencies, Appurtenances and Jurisdictions. One would have thought, that after so many Advantages *France* would have been satisfy'd, and would have let the Confederates and *Spain* have been at quiet, at least for some Years. But that was the least of her Intention. For in 1671. her old insatiable Passion rous'd her again, and she that had violated the *Pyrenean* Peace, the most solemn, the most sacred, that *France* ever made, sign'd by all the Nobility and Grandees of both Crowns, might with much more reason infringe the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*.

Well, then, without consulting any other than her old Mistress Ambition (and, always when that Passion gives the word, his Armies are ready to march, and his Generals are in a condition to put his Designs in Execution) the first Step, then, that *France* made after the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, was her declaring War against *Holland*, after she had made use of all the Artifices imaginable to break off the Engagement, that united 'em with *England* and *Sweden*. If you demand a Reason for this Rupture; she will answer, That the King had Inducements to look upon those People no otherwise then as the Enemies of his Realm, and upon no other Grounds marches his Armies, and in less then six Weeks takes from the *Hollanders* three whole Provinces of seven that compose their Commonwealth, together with all the strong Fortresses

and presses upon the Banks of the *Vahel* and the  
that old *Rhine*.

She seizes upon *Franche Comte* the second  
time, and pushes on her Conquests as far as  
it was possible for her to do, with Orders to  
her Forces to commit all the Ravages imagi-  
nable; allowing no Bounds to her vast  
Designs, then such as the opposition of a  
greater Force was able to prescribe her.

So soon as she had obtain'd her Ends, and  
saw her Affairs in a thriving condition, by  
the great Advantages which her victorious  
Arms had acquir'd, she observ'd the same  
Conduct as she observes at this day; that is  
to say, she offer'd Propositions of Peace to the  
Confederates, rather to disunite 'em, than out of  
any Compassion to the Calamities of *Europe*,  
as she gave out, occasion'd by the most bloody  
and cruel War that ever was known.

Never was *France* more eager after Peace  
then at that time; there was never a petty  
Prince or State that was comprehended in the  
League, to whom she did not make advanta-  
gious Offers; with a Design, that if she could  
bring off any one, they who last laid down  
their Arms should become Victims to her Re-  
sentment, and their Territories, and their  
Countries be abandon'd to the Plunder and  
Fury of his Souldiers. I cannot here forbear  
to recite what the Marquis of *Louvois* said  
one day to the King upon this occasion. "Sir,  
"said he, if your Majesty can but once dis-  
" unite



“ unite the Princes of the League, *France* will have reason to admire her Happiness  
 “ and to boast of never having concluded so advantageous a Peace. To which purpose  
 “ ’tis requisite, that she stoop to considerable  
 “ Condescensions, and that she offer to make  
 “ Restitution of Places that may form a good  
 “ Barrier in *Flanders*, for which she may make  
 “ her self amends, by retaking ’em after the  
 “ Conclusion of the Peace.

*Charles V.* having a design to enthrall all *Germany*, finding himself so far from succeeding in his Enterprises, that he perceiv’d the liberty of the Princes, which he endeavour’d to oppress, gather Strength every day more than other, and that their Union became more Potent, resolv’d to make ’em very advantageous Proposals of Peace: as, likewise, to *Francis I.* the most formidable of all his Enemies, believing, that if he consented once to an Accommodation, he should easily compass the rest. And this is the Course that *Lewis the Great* takes at this day.

However it were. *France* having luckily attain’d her end, after she found the knack of separating the *Hollanders* from their Confederates, surceases her offering Peace to the rest, but imposes the Law upon ’em, and forces ’em to an Acceptance, maugre their unwillingness. So that *Spain* was constrain’d to resign Irrevocably and for ever *Franche Compté*, together with the Cities of *Valencionnes*, *Bouchain*,  
Conde,



*Conde, Cambray, Aires, St. Omer, Ipres, War-*  
*pic and Warnton upon the Lis, Cassel, Bouay,*  
*Maubege, with all their Signiores, Appurte-*  
*ances and Dependences.*

France on the other side engages, but with  
*Mazarin's Mental Reservation*, to restore  
*Charleroy, Binch, Ath, Oudenard and Courtray,*  
 which had been resign'd to her before the  
*Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.* In like manner,  
 she restor'd the Dutchy of *Limberg*, and the  
 Country of *Oultremeuse*, together with the  
 City and Citadel of *Gaunt*, the City of *Leuve*  
 in *Brabant*, *St. Ghilain* in *Hainault*, and the  
 City of *Puicerda* in *Catalonia*.

Now look how much France advances in  
 the Negotiation of the Peace at *Nimeguen*,  
 especially after she had found a way to satisfy  
 the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*, whether to their  
 content or no it matter'd not, but more es-  
 pecially the foremost who were the principal  
 Sinews of the League, she raises her Tone a  
 litle higher, and never concerns her self with  
 what the rest of the Confederates will do:  
 She knows what she has to do, to bring 'em  
 to her Bow. So that the Emperor, the Prin-  
 ces of the Empire, and the Duke of *Lorrain*,  
 who are the last to be agreed with, having  
 nothing to do but to prepare for a new War,  
 if they obstinately stand out, and refuse the  
 Propositions that are made 'em, Blows imme-  
 diately follow Threats; she marches her For-  
 ces into the Territories of those Princes, and  
 constrains

constrains 'em, by the unheard of Ravages and Cruelties there committed, to accept the severe Conditions which she offers 'em, and so sells 'em their Peace at a dear rate.

After this manner the Treaty between *France* and *Spain* was concluded in 1678. and the Emperor was fain to comply the next Year: Between whom and *France* it was agreed, That his Imperial Majesty and the most Christian King, should renew and confirm the Contents of the Treaty of *Munster* in 1648. except in some Points.

By this Treaty, the most Christian King engages to resign and transfer to the Emperor, and his Heirs and Successors, the perpetual Right of Protection and Possession of the City of *Philipsburgh*, which he possess'd by vertue of the Peace of *Munster*. On the other side, his Imperial Majesty, in the name of the whole House of *Austria* and of the Empire, promises to resign and transfer to his most Christian Majesty and his Successors, the City and Cittadel of *Friburgh*, with the three Villages depending upon it, excepting the Diocesan Rights, which were reserv'd to the Bishop and Church of *Constance*, to which it belong'd.

Next to the Emperor, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* was forc'd, in his turn, to obey *France*, and to restore to *Sweden* all that he had won from that Crown; so that the Elector, finding himself the only innocent Vi-

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him of the Party, whose Interests he had so generously espous'd, laid it so heinously to heart, as to vow, That if he had bin so easie, as to the time past, to intermeddle with other Peoples Quarrels, he would be so prudent for the future, as to consider twice before he declar'd once. What a Consolation it was to the most Christian King, to see that all things went to wrack on the Confederates side, after the Hollanders had quitted that Union. Therefore, most Serene Princes, may nothing ever be so prevalent as to disunite your Confederacy; for 'tis by your united force that you will obtain a lasting and durable Peace; nor is there any other probable Means to bring down the Pride of France.

As for Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, it was agreed by the XII. Article, That he should be restor'd to the Territories which Duke *Charles* his Uncle enjoy'd in 1670. at what time *France* made her self Mistress of 'em, upon condition that the City of *Nanci* and the Dependencies, should belong to the King in Sovereignty. And it was also agreed, That besides the Thorough-fare, which the deceased Duke had granted to his Majesty in 1667. Prince *Charles* should engage to allow him two more, from *Nanci* to *Metz*; and so into *Franche Conte*. In this manner *France* consents to the Restitution of *Lorraine*, as she had done by the *Pyrenean Peace*; but *Colbert*  
*Croissi*

*Croissi*, in imitation of *Mazarin*, labours to preserve a Thorough-fare and High Road for his Majesties Forces, to the end that if Fancy should take him to seize upon the Dukedom a third time, he may always find open and ready to receive him. Moreover the King engag'd by the XVII Article to sign and transfer to him the Propriety and Sovereignty of the City of *Toul*, with the Banlieu or Precinct of a League in compass belonging to it, to make him amends for the loss of *Nanci*. France had also promised to give him in exchange for the City and Provostship of *Longwic*, an Equivalent in one of the three Bishopricks: But she made a Jeu of that Article as well as of all the rest. When the day of signing Treaties is once over, she never thinks her self bound to perform any more.

The Landgraviate of *Alsatia*, and the Government of that Province, the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, and *Sangor* with *Brisac*, were also to be resign'd to France by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimwegen*.

After so many Resignations and Surrenders one would have thought that this Ambitious Potentate should have bin satisfied; but far from that, he gave the Emperor to understand, in a short time after, that since he had surrender'd one part of that Province to him the whole belong'd to him by Rights of Dependancy

endency, Convenience, Equivocation, Compensation, and a thousand other Chimerical claims, which he readily invented, and which brought Re-unions into Fashion. So that the *Landgraviate*, with *Brisac* and *Sandgaw*, which lie in the upper *Alsatia*, being resign'd to him, they must be taken for the whole *Alsatia*, tho' they make but one part of it.

As to the Government of the Province which only referr'd to the lower *Alsatia*, 'twas expressly agreed by the Treaty, That *France* should only enjoy the Right of the Administration of *Justice*, without appropriating to herself any Right of Sovereignty; but she laugh'd at that Exception. So that 'twas a manifest Usurpation, and a meer pretence to oppress the Liberty of all *Alsatia*, as being invested with a single Prerogative: That Liberty, which had been always so dear to that Province, and which it had enjoy'd for many Years, as a Member of the Empire.

I would fain know to what purpose serv'd all the Care and Pains which the Emperors Plenipotentiaries took, to insert expressly the Names of the Countries and Places which were to be resign'd to the Emperor, and which were not to be surrender'd. 'Twas said, That the *Landgraviat*, and all the rest of *Alsatia*, should enjoy the same Franchises and Privileges which they had enjoy'd under the House of *Austria*. But *France* passing by all

all these Reservations made a Jest of 'em, and using the Lands that were not surrend'ed w<sup>th</sup> the same Pride and Cruelty, as those that were, has so order'd the Matter, that the Subjects of that Province have sufficiently experienc'd the rigorous Effects of his Tyranny.

It would require a large Volume to enumerate all the Articles that *France* has violated; and, therefore, we shall refer those that desire a more particular Account, to the Authors who have discours'd at large upon the Negotiation of the Peace of *Nimeguen*.

All *Europe* wearied with so many Breach and wicked Incroachments, panted after nothing but Peace, and prepar'd to enjoy it some Years; and there was some reason to hope, that *France* having reap'd such a plentiful Harvest of Advantages from the Alliance, would have set bounds to her Designs, and liv'd in perfect Union with the House of *Austria*, and the rest of the Princes of *Europe*. But neither is all this any thing: Her Limits are not yet enough extended; nor will any thing less content her, than the Limits of the whole Earth.

The Reason why I cannot here forbear to recite the words of *St. Austin*, To make War upon our Neighbours, and thence to carry it still farther into other Countries, oppressing People that never did us harm, and this meerly out of an Ambitious Desire of Empire; what is it else but a glorious sort of Robbing upon the Highway?

y ? Thus, in a few Words, you have the  
 n of all the Heroick Vertues of *Lewis* the  
 eat, his Panegyrick in Miniature. To  
 hich we may add, those Verses of *Juvenal*,  
 eaking of the Insatiable desire of *Alexander*,  
 aggrandize his Fame.

*Unus Pelleo Juveni non sufficit Orbis :  
 Æstuat Infelix Angusto Limite mundi,  
 Ut Gyara clausus scopulis, Parvoq; seripho.  
 Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit Ur-  
 bem,  
 Sarcophago contentus erit——*

That Prince who was too little for the  
 niverse, and the Universe too little for him,  
 d whose Ambition could never be asswag'd,  
 eing enter'd into *Babylon*, was forc'd to be  
 ontented with a single Coffin.

My Opinion is, that as much may be said  
 of *Lewis* the Great, and that this swelling  
 Monarch, having bin the Scourge of his Age,  
 he Terror of his Enemies, and the most Am-  
 bitious Prince that ever sway'd the Scepter of  
*France*, will be at length constrain'd to con-  
 fine the vast extent of his Designs, and his In-  
 satiable desire of Aggrandizing himself, to a  
 scanty Tomb prepar'd for him at *St. Denis's*,  
 here to be laid up among the Illustrious and  
 High-born Lumber of the World. But this  
 is not the Business in hand; we must stay  
 till he's dead. In the mean time, let us see  
 what



what he has done further. He has violat  
the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and that of *Aix la C  
pelle*; now let us consider, whether he held t  
Peace of *Nimeguen* more sacred or more  
violable.

In the Year, 1688. *France* makes her  
Mistress of two the most Important Places  
*Europe*. To which purpose, observe the  
rifices that *Louvois* makes use of. He co  
ceals his Order of Knighthood under his  
per Coat, puts himself into a Disguize, tak  
Post-Horses, and flies from *Versailles*, atten  
ed only by one single Lacquey, and comes  
cognito to *Strasburgh*. Being arriv'd at  
Entrance into the Plain, within Canon-st  
of the City, there he found the Coach of  
Chief Burgo-master of the Town, that sta  
for his coming; into which he whipp'd,  
fear of being known, and order'd his Lacque  
who was also in the Disguise of a Hor  
courser, to go before with the two Hor  
and lodge at the *White Horse*, where he w  
to stay, and make a shew of trucking for Ho  
ses, till he had notice of the Day and Ho  
of his return.

*Louvois* was conducted to the Chief Burgo  
master's House, who had found a way to rid  
himself of his Wife and Children, by sending  
em to his House in the Country, about the  
Leagues from the City, keeping no Body  
attend him at home, but a very faithful *Val  
de Chambre*. The rest of the Magistrates th  
we



ere of the Cabal, were to rendezvouze in the Night-time ; and as soon as they were met together, they fell to the Business. *Louvois* began the Treaty with a Proposal of great Advantages and Rewards which his Majesty serv'd particularly for them, after the Conclusion of an Affair, which he lookt upon as a Concern of great Importance to his other Designs. And to render his Chapmen the more favourable, he added to his other Marks of Friendship and Acknowledgment, some Courses of 500 *Luidores* apiece, of which he presented one to every particular Person, telling 'em with a Smile, at the time that he made the Presents, *That his Majesty was not so rich as fully to remunerate the great Obligations which they were about to confer upon him ; however, that they had to do with a Prince, who wanted neither Good-will nor Power to make 'em great Lords in France.*

At the Fourth Conference 'twas agreed, That *Louvois* should engage for the payment of 400000. Livers in ready Mony to the Chief Burgo-master, and that every one of the Provoests, Consuls and Magistrates that were of the Cabal, should have for their share 300000 Livers ; in consideration of which, the Keys of the City should be put into his Hands ; and the said City was to be put into his Majesty's Hands, to reck'n from the 23<sup>d</sup> of October, 1661. which was the Day made choice of for his Majesties taking Livery and Seizsin.  
Be.

Besides that, *Louvoir* engag'd to allow the said Magistrates their House-Rent free at his Majesties Charge, from the time of their Arrival at *Paris*, assuring 'em of his Majesties Friendship and Protection, against all that should make any Attempt upon their Liberty.

*France* having thus made her self Mistress of the Capital City of *Alsacia*, *Louvois* sent word to the Duke of *Mantua*, that if he had a mind to quit *Casal* for Money, he would pay him down two Millions upon the Nail. The Importance of that Negotiation, and the fear, the Court was in lest the Secret should be divulg'd, caus'd his Majesty to make choice of *Colbert Croissi*, in the absence of *Louvois*, who had proffer'd to undertake a Journey into *Italy*, as he had done into *Alsacia*, but the Fatigues of his first Journey would not permit him. At length *Colbert Croissi* departed in all haste, after he had receiv'd full Instructions, and came to *Casal Incognito*, where he had a Conference Face to Face with the Duke. As they were about to take their leaves, after the first Treaty which they had together, *Colbert* pulling out some Papers out of his Pocket, unluckily let fall his Memoirs under the Table, which the Duke took up, so soon, as the Minister was gone out of the Room, and having read 'em, he found the Purport of 'em to be, That in case the Duke made any scruple to part with *Casal* for two Millions.

Colbert should come up to his Price what-ever  
 were, and that if he only stook for Mõny,  
 that he should mount up to four Millions,  
 leaving the rest to his Prudence. But above  
 all things, he had order not to return, till  
 the Affair was fully concluded.

The next day in the Morning, coming to  
 attend the Duke, as he was dressing himself,  
 one of the Prince's Pages neatly slip't the  
 Memoire into the Ministers Pocket, without  
 being perceiv'd; and then the Duke making  
 to him, if he knew nothing of his Orders, told  
 him, 'Twas impossible to deliver up such an  
 important Place as *Casal*, under less then four  
 Millions in Silver, and that he expected 'em  
 to be paid upon the Day that the Town was  
 to be deliver'd, or immediately after signing  
 the Treaty. Colbert was extreemly surpriz'd  
 to hear that the Duke's Mind was so strangely  
 chang'd from what it was the Day before, and  
 signing that he would return home without  
 doing any thing, told the Duke, that he would  
 do as much as lay in his Power, and that he  
 should presume to exceed his Master's Orders  
 by as far as some few hundred thousand Livres  
 would reach, above the two Millions that he  
 had offer'd the Day before. 'Twas agreed  
 upon, That his Master should give 500000  
 Livres more, above the Two Millions that he  
 had offer'd the Day before, together with an  
 annual Pension of 200000, which should be  
 regularly paid during his Life. Upon this,

the poor Prince fell into the Snare, and the glitter of the *French Lewidores* daz'd him to that degree, that he sign'd the Contract of *Salvo* and *Colbert* returned to Court in less then Six Weeks.

Thus *France* became the Mistress of Two strong Barriers, without so much as drawing a Sword, which secur'd her both on *German* and *Italy* side. Besides these notorious Attempts upon the Peace, the most Christian King besieg'd *Courtray*, and won it. Which done, he spent no less then 3000 Bombs upon *Luxemburgh*, and laid it in Ashes. If the *Spaniards* complain of these Cruelties, he answers 'em, That the Marquis of *Granada* committed Acts of Hostility, which he never so much as dreamt of, and then, like a man of War, lets loose all his Fury, and sends *Bombards* and *Montal* to commit all the Ravages imaginable; orders 'em to waste all before 'em with Fire and Sword, to the very Gates of *Mons*, and to act those Villanies and Cruelties in the midst of Peace, that scarce could have bin committed in the height of a most bloody War.

If *Charles* the Bold, Duke of *Burgundy* had the Sir-name of *Terrible* given him Twenty Years after his Death, because he renewed the Rigour of War in former Times, at which had been discontinued for some Ages among the Christians; it may be said that *Lewis* the Great has out-done him, and done

nd never any Prince has rendred himself more  
im terrible in History, or more odious to the  
Sal World, then this Monarch has made himself,  
n Spy his Cruelties and Barbarities, during the  
whole Course of his Reign. But let us pro-  
ceed to the other Breaches of the Peace.

win The most Christian King, perceiving that  
ma all the Princes of *Europe* lay secure and care-  
s less, and that not so much as one of 'em stirr'd  
ist to oppose his Designs, while every one minded  
Wh nothing but his own particular Interests,  
up thought himself at Liberty to do whatever he  
e pleas'd. Thereupon, he bethought himself of  
e building Fortresses along the *Rhine*, upon the  
Territories of his Enemies, and Barriers and  
Securities of his Conquests, but which ex-  
mpos'd their Dominions to the first Fury and  
Bo Hayocks of a War, in case of a Ruprure,  
vag and enabl'd him to carry his Arms into the  
efo Heart of *Germany*, before the Forces of the  
Ga Empire could be in a Condition to march.  
Cr With this Design he erected that important  
ou Fortrefs of *Mount-Royal* upon the *Moselle*,  
m within the Peninsula of *Trebon*, upon a steep  
Rock, almost encompass'd with the River :  
ma he fortiy'd *Sar-Lewis* upon the *Sar* ; and rais'd  
2 the Fort of *Hunningben*, consisting of Five Ba-  
ew stions, seated upon the *Rhine*, with a wooden  
a Bridge a little below *Bale* in *Sungow*. To  
Ag which we may add the Forts which he rais'd  
th upon the *Rhine* near *Strasburgh*, &c.

When these Enormous Actions were complain'd of in *France*, the Answer was ready. For the Imperial Ministers were told, That their Master had no reason to be jealous of what she did ; for that she was very well satisfy'd, there was nothing done contrary to the Peace.

In the Year 1684. *France* gives the Catholic King to understand, that he was to deliver into her Hands the Equivalent that had bin offer'd her, in lieu of the Country of *Alost*, and upon the King of *Spain's* refusing immediately to satisfy her new Pretensions *Lewis XIV.* lays Siege to *Luxemburgh*, and in less then a Month makes him Master of that important Fortrefs, the Key of all *Germany*.

After she had thus worry'd all *Europe*, she bethought her self of citeing the Princes of the Empire before Sovereign Courts and Tribunals, erected at *Mets* and *Brisac*, where French Commissioners, being both Judges and Parties, pronounc'd Sentences of Condemnation, by vertue of certain Parchments gnaw'd by the Rats and soyl'd with Dust and Smoak, to the end they might look old, and consequently the more Authentick. Which Writings being drawn by a Famous Advocate of *Paris*, contain'd Claims and Pretensions of *France*, to several States, Signiories and Counties, by vertue of Reunions and Dependencies of Lands, which had been granted by the  
Treaties

com Treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*. But 'tis  
ady to be observ'd, that these Claims were so much  
That the more Imaginary and Chimerical, because  
ns of it had been agreed by the Articles of the  
t fa Treaties, That *France* should renounce 'em:  
y to Yet all those Renunciations were not able to  
put a stop to her. She had always one Code  
tho or Digest, at hand, apart by themselves; and  
de when she had a fancy to despoil any Prince  
had of his Territories, or to seize upon any Lands  
y of that lay convenient for her, she never fail'd of  
using a Pretence. Her Laws were like a Saddle,  
one for all Horses, and she gave 'em what Inter-  
and pretation she pleas'd: So that 'tis no won-  
der to see her Commenting upon all the Ar-  
Gen ticles of the Treaties, and wresting the Sense  
to her own Advantage.

Two Months after the taking of *Luxem-  
burgh*, *France* perceiving that that New Con-  
quest had manifestly discover'd her Ambition,  
and set the Low Countries and all *Germany*  
a Murmuring, and very near incens'd 'em to  
a new War, and disappoint her Designs, which  
were, still to be gaining at a cheap rate, under  
the shadow of Peace, bethought her self of  
one of the neatest knacks of Policy that ever  
she was guilty of. She propos'd to the Em-  
peror, to *Spain*, and the States General of the  
United Provinces, a Truce of twenty Years;  
and in regard her Armies were still marching  
at the same time that she makes her Demands,  
that she may be able to make 'em good, she



order'd her Embassadors to let those Potentates understand, That if they refus'd to consent to the advantagious Offers of a Truce to secure the Répose and Tranquility of Christendom, she was resolv'd to declare open War against 'em. Who would have thought, but that *France* had then bin full of Sincerity and good Will? To hear the Language of her Embassadors and Plenipotentiaries, a Man would have sworn, That the Truce would infallibly have prov'd more sacred and inviolable then the three preceding Treaties.

The *Hollanders* were the first that fell into the Snare, in hopes to have enjoy'd a solid and durable Peace; a Lure which *France* has all along dextrously made use of, when ever she had a design to amuse the King of *Spain*, who seeing himself the continual mark of that Ambitious Crown, was willing to have secur'd his poor Countries from the Ravages to which they were expos'd, and to deliver 'em from the Mischiefs they had suffer'd for almost thirty Years together: And, therefore, for these Reasons they consented to a Truce for 20 Years. The Emperor, who was already engag'd in a War with the Ottoman Port, whose prodigious Numbers made all *Germany* tremble, found himself in a kind of Necessity to temporize with *France*, for fear of drawing that powerful and dangerous Enemy upon his Shoulders, and so submitted to the Truce after the Example of *Holland* and *Spain*.

And



And thus you see how the most Christian King obtain'd his Ends. For by this Treaty he secur'd his Conquests, lull'd the Hollanders asleep, and amus'd the Emperor and Princes of the Empire : All these Potentates being so credulous as to fall into the Snare, maugre the Experience they had so many times already had of his Infidelity. What does *Lewis* the Great do after this ? He prepares to bring to an absolute Conclusion, the Grand Work which his Ambition had set on foot ; and which he had bin labouring to bring about for above forty Years together, I mean, the Universal Monarchy. To which purpose, there was no Precaution which that Prince did not take. He ally'd himself to the Ottoman Port ; he dispatch'd away Marshal *d'Humiers* to the Court of *England*, and engages King *James* to side with him : He purchases the Friendship of *Poland* and the *Czars* of *Muscovy* ; he proposes Offers to the Northern Crowns and the Princes of *Italy* ; he endeavours to gain the three Ecclesiastical Electors, and to appoint Coadjutors that were devoted to his Interests : He does all he can to carry *Fustenburgh's* Election ; he quarrels with the Court of *Rome* ; he revokes the Edict of *Nants*, drives the Reformed out of his Kingdom ; makes strict Alliances with the King of *Siam* to ruin the *Hollanders's* Trade ; and bargains with the *Switzers* what he shall give 'em to sit still and look on.

We might here give a particular Account of the great Preparations of *France* to spring the Mines that were to make her Mistress of all the strong Holds of *Europe*. She reckon'd upon the Conquest of the Remainder of the *Low Countries* and *Holland*, as a certain and infallible thing. King *James* had given him a Promise of it, and that Prince's word was Irrevocable. *Germany* being at the same time attack'd by all the Forces of *France* and *Turkey* must have sunk under the Burthen, and have become the Prey of potent Enemies: And at the same time likewise all the Dominions of the King of *Spain* were just ready to change their Master, and to see themselves subdu'd under the French Monarchy, which was to have no other Limits then those of all *Europe*.

The most Christian King had so surely built upon these Foundations, and had taken such true Measures, that a Man might have justly said, That nothing could have stopp'd him. But then of a sudden happens the Blow which could only do the Business, a Blow the most fatal and deadly that ever happen'd to *France*, and which render'd abortive all her Designs in an instant; ranverses that *Colossus* of Pride and Ambition that had bin Erected upon the Ruins of so many poor States and Sovereignties, at the expence of Treaties broken, and which consisted only in the hopes of Invading the rest that lay fit for Convenience. I mean, the Revolution of *England*; the Prince

Prince of Orange, his vow'd Enemy, is made King of Great Britain, and made it appear, That only *England* was able to deliver *Europe* from the oppression of the French Crown.

And, now most Serene Princes, you are within a very little of reducing *France* within the Bounds of the *Pyrenean* Peace, if your Union subsists but two Campaigns longer. There-fore, whatever Advantages *France* proposes, how soft and obliging so ever her Caresses may be, reject 'em all. Let the Experience of what is past, instruct ye to avoid at present what has been the Ruin of all the Leagues that have been formerly contracted against her. You have to do with a crafty and potent Enemy; and as she has found the Benefit of her Maxims practis'd in the late Wars, she makes use, at present, of the same to break your Union.

How earnest is she at the Court of *Rome*? How importunate with the Northern Crowns and the laudable Cantons to persuade 'em to take the Meditation upon 'em? To this purpose she spares neither Gold nor Silver, nor Embassies, and it is in good part discover'd, that she offer'd six Millions to any one that could procure a Peace. And which is worse, we find to our Sorrow, that her Pains have not prov'd altogether fruitless, by the Steps that some People tread, who interest themselves too much in her Concerns.

But some zealous Adherents to that Crown will object and say, That 'tis high time to put a stop to the Miseries that afflict *Europe*, and you ought not any longer to refuse that Peace to *France* which she demands, since she makes such advantagious Offers, seeing the Denial will render you responsible before God for all the Blood that is shed, and for all the dismal Calamities that attend War. The most Christian King, say they, offers the Confederate Conditions altogether reasonable; he offers 'em Barriers sufficient to secure their Liberty, and to secure 'em for the future from the prodigious Forces of that Crown. Those Offers are these that follow:

*France* proposes, by the Danish Envoy, That first in respect of the Emperor, the Prince and States of the Empire, the Dutchess of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, the Advantages which his Armies have gain'd upon his Enemies, shall make no alteration in the Conditions that have bin communicated to his Danish Majesty.

That in respect of the King of *Spain*, his most Christian Majesty might justly keep all his Conquests after the Example of the Catholick Kings; but that to facilitate a Peace, he is willing to restore *Roses* and *Belevers*, and, in a word, all that he has conquer'd in *Catalonia*, during this last War. He adds, That he had still more reason to keep, for the safety of his Frontiers, all the Conquests that he had

Crowd won in *Flanders*, yet for the forming of  
 to a Barrier that might remove all occasion of  
 , and inquiet from the United Provinces, he would  
 Peace store to the King of *Spain*, *Mons* and *Na-*  
 make *sur*, and offer'd to demonish *Charleroy*.

Denial As to the Country of *Liege*, he would re-  
 ed before the City and Castle of *Huy*, to the Bi-  
 e bishoprick, and make amends for *Dinant* and  
 most *ouilion*, by reuniting such a Portion of the  
 fede Country of *Luxemburgh*, as should lie most  
 ; for the convenience of the Bishoprick, and as  
 they should be deem'd reasonable by chosen Arbi-  
 from trators.

He consents to the re-settling of Trade  
 with the States General, accordihg to the  
 Agreements in the Treaty of *Nimeguen* with-  
 out any Alteration.

In case of the King of *Spain's* Death, he  
 consents that the Elector of *Bavaria* shall en-  
 joy those Countries, provided the Emperor  
 will declare the same to be his Will and Plea-  
 sure: And that tho' the Deceased Queen's Re-  
 nunciation to *Spain* during her Minority be  
 Void, for the Reasons already made publick  
 to the World, his Majesty is willing, as well  
 for himself as for the Dauphin, to confirm the  
 said Renunciation in favour of the Duke of  
*Bavaria*, with all the requisite Formalities;  
 adding withall, that he makes no question but  
 that this Engagement will convince the Con-  
 federates beyond all other things of the reali-  
 ty of the Peace which he proposes to 'em.

As

As to the Affairs of *England*, the Royal Majesty being wounded in the Person of the K. of Great Britain, his Most Christian Majesty makes no question but that the King of *Sweden* and the Emperor himself will propose some Expedient to put an end to that Difference: And moreover his Most Christian Majesty has no pretention directly nor indirectly to *England* excepting what he claim'd during this War to the Islands and Continents of *America*, of which he demands Restitution, being ready to renew with that Crown the last Treaty of Commerce, which was in force when the War began.

As for what concerns *Germany*, his Most Christian Majesty consents, that the Treaty of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*, shall remain in full Force and Vigour.

That the Truce in 1684. might be chang'd into a Definitive Treaty of Peace; nevertheless with these Exceptions,

That in compensation for *Strasburg*, *France* shall Surrender up *Mont Royal* and *Trarbag*, after the Fortifications are Demolish'd, granting that it be for the security of the Empire. Besides that, his most Christian Majesty will restore *Philipsbourg* and *Fribourg* to the Emperor and the Empire, together with the Fortifications, in the same condition as now they are. That Fort *Lewis* and *Huninghen* shall be Demolish'd: That *Heydelburg* and the *Palatinat* shall be restor'd to the Palatinate; *France* taking

king upon her to make Madam amends for the Succession of the Electors her Father and Brother ; an Article which his Most Christian Majesty stands very much upon.

In regard of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Most Christian King consents that the Treaty of *Nimeguen* shall be observ'd, *Sar Louis*, *Briche* and *Hombourg* excepted, for which there shall be an Equivalent given of an equal Revenue.

That the most Serene Republic of *Venice* shall be Arbitratrix if there be any Reunions to make; and for the putting a conclusion to all Differences between *France* and the rest of the Princes, she will agree to any just and reasonable Proposals that shall be made on their Part and in their Name.

In truth, we must acknowledge, that *France* is become all on a sudden very Tractable and very Consciencious; she who was wont to gripe all, and restore nothing, now offers the Confederates the Restitution of all the Places during the last War.

Most Serene Princes, here is a particular Favour, which the Most Christian King vouchsafes ye: He is willing notwithstanding your Obstinacy to continue the War, to heap his Graces upon ye, to the end you may have reason to forget the Mischiefs he has done ye. He offers to be Reconcil'd with ye, and lay down his Arms, provided you will accept of his Propositions of Peace, and rely upon his Promises.

After



After this, 'tis to be thought, that you will have no cause to Complain: And the Adherents of *France* will be apt to tell ye, that *Lewis XIV.* is at this day Triumphant and Victorious, and consequently that 'tis for him to give Laws to his Enemies, and to make no Restitutions at all, but what he pleases himself. But to this I answer, If *France* has got such great Advantages over the Princes of the League, and is so much a gainer by the War, why do's she talk of Peace? To spare you therefore the pains of alledging some good Reason or other, in justification of a Prince whose Interests you so heartily Maintain; I shall only repeat what *Mazarine* upon the like occasion wrote to *M. Lionne*, Secretary of State, concerning the Negotiation of the *Pyrenaean Peace*. For as to what remains, said he, *I should make no scruple to acknowledge the seeking after Peace, when the Progress and Reputation of the King's Arms in the next Campaign, shall have advanced his Majesties Renown to the highest pitch it can arrive at, &c.*

These were the Sentiments of the most Subtle and Crafty Minister that ever *France* had, who decides the Question in few words. The Most Christian King has so well profited by the Maxims of that great Politician, that 'tis with him an inviolable Law not to swerve from the Practice thereof to this day. Nor was *Mazarin* alone of this Opinion: The Marquess of *Louvois* jumps with him in the same

will me Sentiments; And tho' he were not of so  
 dhe. ablime a Genius as *Mazarin*, the Reputati-  
 than he acquir'd during his Ministry, renders  
 and him Authentric enough to be quoted for a good  
 him Author. You shall hear what he said to *Col-*  
 e not *bert Croissi*, when he gave him his last Instru-  
 im- ments how to carry himself at the Negotia-  
 gori- tion of *Nimeguen*, whither he was sent with  
 the the Character of a Plenipotentiary.

ar, I know very well, said he, that the Confede-  
 ou rate Princes will make a Judgment to the Pre-  
 od judice of his Majesty, of his Conduct in inviting  
 ce em to a Peace; but it matters not, the Ad-  
 I vantages he will receive thereby, will amply re-  
 ce compence the Wrong which his Honour will suf-  
 of fer; besides that, we shall come off well enough  
 - by giving out that his Majesty vouchsaf'd to af-  
 d ford Peace to Europe.

Thus you see what has been all along the  
 Temper of *France*; this is no Maxim of Ye-  
 sterday, as being practis'd by several of his  
 Majesty's Ancestors: Witness what *Comines* re-  
 ports of *Lewis XI.* That that same Prince to  
 get himself out of the Bryars at a time when  
*Paris*, the Capital City of his Kingdom was  
 within a very little of being Besieg'd by the  
*Burgundians*, deem'd it the only way in the  
 World he could take, to Temporize. He  
 thought it by no means proper to venture his  
 Kingdom upon the Hazard of a Battle, and  
 therefore labour'd under-hand to Dis-unite  
 the Princes and Lords of the Confederacy;  
 which

which succeeded very luckily, and by that means he got the better of his Enemies. *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* took the same Course. And still when *France* has been overwhelm'd with the great number of her Enemies, it has been always her way to ruin their Union with fair and plausible Proposals of Peace.

But if it may be said, that the French Monarchy had always Great Masters in this Science, *Lewis XIV.* has out-done 'em all: His Reign has been a continued Series of deceitful Promises, violated Faith, and Treaties broken. In a word, this Prince observing himself Attack'd by the most Potent Confederacy that ever was entred into against *France*, can never take a better opportunity to propose Peace then when her Triumphant Arms may seem to boast of some Advantages. The same Arms are fickle and uncertain, and Fortune that has favour'd him hitherto, may forsake him, and reduce his Affairs to the most Piti-ful Condition in the World. It looks then, if we may judge of Events by the disposal and management of things, as if *France* afraid of strange Revolutions, sufficient to ravish from him in an instant, all the Honour and Glories he has hitherto enjoy'd, and despoil her Conquests gain'd by breach of Treaties, sought to effect by Policy what she cannot compass by Force.

There are four things that urge the Crown of *France* to press the Confederates so earnestly

that for a Treaty of Peace. The First, is the condition of her Affairs, which at present is so favourable enough, in regard of the Progresses which her Arms have made. The Second is, her Apprehensions, lest the Confederates considering their Forces and redoubling their Efforts, should weaken her in such a manner, as to disable her for the future from making a further Progress upon her Neighbours, if they permit her to keep her own. The Third is, the hopes that she has of luckily obtaining her ends by the same Artifices which she made use of at the Peace of Nimiguen. And the Fourth is, the low ebb of her Exchequer, and the deplorable condition of the People, reduc'd to utmost Misery by Famine and want of Corn.

As to the condition of her Affairs, most certain it is, that *France* is well advis'd in taking this time to make her Proposals of Peace. She was never so happy, nor so much caress'd by Fortune as now. For five Years together, that the War has bin declar'd, excepting the First Campaign, wherein the Confederates triumph'd, upon the reducing of *Mayence*, *Keiserwart*, *Bon*, &c. to which we may add, that famous Atchievment at the *Boyn*, the memorable Victory with which it was attended, the Engagement by Sea, and the Duke of *Savoy's* Irruption into the *Dauphinate*; all other things may be said to have been prosperous for *France*. So that if she could inveigle

gle the Confederate Princes into a Negotiation, at a time when every thing smiles upon her, she may have just reason to expect that such a Negotiation will be attended with Peace, no less glorious and advantageous for her, then that of the *Pyreneans*, *Aix la Chapelle* or *Nimeguen*. For proof of which, there needs no more but to reflect upon the Offers of the Envoys of *Denmark* to the Court of *England* and the States of the United Provinces, which we have already recited. Which Offers are so inconsiderable, That 'tis a mere Insulting, and an Affront put upon the Honour of so many Princes, to presume that they would ever listen to such Proposals.

As to the Apprehensions of *France* lest the Confederates should redouble their Efforts, and constrain the most Christian King to confine himself within much narrower Limits, 'tis as certain, That her Fears are not groundless; and that 'tis but good Counsel given to the most Christian King to advise him to bid his Generals and his Souldiers whet their Swords betimes, and have their Arms in a readiness, because that in all Likelihood we shall have a warm Campaign of it.

The most Christian King, perhaps, did ne're expect that *England*, turmoil'd as she had been with Factions and Dissentions, that harra's'd the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, would have taken a Resolution to conclude the War by Efforts of Puissance and constant

constant Opposition, by granting the Men  
 and Money which King *William* desir'd. Nor  
*England* the only Confederate so well in-  
 clin'd to the common Cause: the United  
 Provinces, and the rest of the Princes and  
 States that compose the League, unanimously  
 conclude, to sacrifice the whole toward the  
 obtaining a lasting and durable Peace. And  
 hence it is that we behold such numerous  
 Armies, such prodigious Forces muster'd to-  
 gether on the Confederates side, amounting,  
 as they say, to no less then 400000 Men:  
 Which, if it be true, *France* will find it a  
 difficult Task to fend off the Blows on every  
 side. And I am persuaded, that Marshal  
*Luxemburgh*, as much pufft up as he is with  
 the Advantages that he obtain'd by number,  
 will be constrain'd to acknowledge himself  
 mistaken, when he promis'd the King his Ma-  
 ster, that he would sing *Te deum*, before the  
 end of *April*, in the Cathedral of *Maastrich*.

As to his hopes of attaining his Ends by  
 means of the same Artifices which he made  
 use of at the Peace of *Nimeguen*, that you  
 may be plainly convinc'd of it, there needs  
 no more then to reflect upon the Conduct  
 which he observes in respect of every Prince  
 in particular, and of all in general, to dis-  
 unite and draw 'em off the one from the o-  
 ther. He began with the Duke of *Savoy*, upon  
 whom he put the Duke of *Orleans*, believing  
 his Highness might be wrought to a Conde-  
 scension

scension, when touched in the most sensible part, which was, when he came to be importun'd by the Dutchess, his Wife.

It may be said, that she omitted nothing to infuse into him favourable Sentiments in the behalf of *France*. She has been seen to weep warm Tears, to fall upon her Knees and embrace the Prince her Husband, beseeching him with all the Tenderness imaginable, To put an end to the War; to have Compassion upon his Family and his harass'd Territories, and lastly to remember that *France* was only able to restore him to his ancient Liberty. She also deliver'd to him Letters, written with the King's own Hand, wherein that Monarch promis'd him, upon the Faith of a Prince, that he would forget what was past, and that he was ready to grant him all the Advantages that he could desire. That to render the Peace the more venerable and inviolable, it should be seal'd for a perpetual Alliance between the two Houses, to which his Majesty would add the Marriage of one of the Sons of *France* with the young Dutchess of *Savoy*, when they should be of Age, which would knit those indissoluble Knots, that nothing would be able to unty for the future, &c.

After he had thus assail'd the Duke of *Savoy*, what Springs did he not set at work in the Court of *Rome* to gain their Favour, and incline the Pope openly to favour his Interests, by inculcating into the Catholic Princes the  
Necessity



Necessity of Breaking those Engagements that united 'em with the Protestants. A Union, added he, that drew after it the inevitable Destruction of the *Roman* Religion, and directed Heresie upon the Ruins of it, if the Holy Father did not save it, by inspiring into the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the rest of the *Cotholick* Princes speedy Inclinations to reconcile themselves with *France*.

As for his Imperial Majesty, what Pains was the Court of *France* not taken to draw him off from the rest of the Confederates? And finding that all the Importunities of the Court of *Rome* wrought no impression upon the Mind of that Prince, and that nothing was able to shake his Constancy, did not the most Christian King dispatch an Express to the Court of *Vienna*, to present the Emperor with a Treaty of separate Peace, and make him very advantagious Offers, if he would consent to it? After he had gone thus forward, did he not publish a *Manifesto* upon the *Rhine*, and in all the Courts of *Germany*, to engage the Princes and States of the Empire to lay down their Arms, and stand Neuters, or else to accept the Proposals already made 'em?

What has he left undone to obtain the Mediation of the Northern Crowns, of the Republick of *Venice*, of the laudable Cantons, to incline those Potentates to espouse his Interests? Has he not sent away Embassie upon Embassie,

Embassie, and how many Millions has he offer'd besides? The Count *d'Avaux* offer'd *Sweden* the Restitution of the Dutchy of *Denmark*, and repayment of all the Losses sustain'd, reckoning from the very first Day that *France* made herself Mistress of it; besides four Millions, and 500000 Livres, which would be actually paid down, together with a Pension of 200000 Livres, if his *Swedish* Majesty would effectually interpose his Mediation with King *William*, the most zealous for continuance of the War. Upon the King of *Sweden*'s refusal to accept these Offers, *Bontrepos* offer'd the Court of *Denmark* Six millions, together with Mademoiselle de *Orléans* to be given in Marriage to the Prince Royal of *Denmark*, according to the Project begun at *Paris*, before the departure of that Prince. His most Christian Majesty offering, besides, to pay the Dowry, and to decree all things immediately after the Ratification of the Peace. And the Steps which the Envoys of his Danish Majesty tread both in the Court of *England* and in *Holland*, have made it appear that those Offers were not made in vain. Now let us see what Proposals *M. de la Haye*, the *French* Ambassador made to the Republick of *Venice*. He offer'd the Signiorie, besides Three Millions in Silver, which were to be paid down, that the King his Master should engage to prevail with the Grand Signior to grant her Great Advantages, and conclude a separate

separate Treaty of Peace with her, the Exclusion of the Emperour and the King of Poland, if she would imploy her Good Offices, as well at Rome, to persuade the Duke of Savoy to restore Peace to Italy, as in other Courts of the Catholic Princes in confederacy against France. I omit several private Conferences between his most Christian Majesty and the Venetian Envoy, upon this Subject, before his departure from Paris, when he went from thence to reside in the Court of Spain.

How did Amelot labour with the laudable Cantons? He display'd all his Eloquence in several Speeches, which he made in their Dyets, and left nothing undone to advance the King his Master's Interests. His most effectual Propositions were reduc'd to an Offer of Four Millions and 500000 Livres, to which he added, the Payment of all their Arrears: All which Advantages, said he farther, would be attended with a perpetual and inviolable Alliance with the Crown of France, by virtue of which the laudable Cantons would be protected at all Times, and the Liberty and Repose which they have enjoy'd hitherto would be secured from the Attempts of all that sought their Disturbance. And all that the King demanded for so many Favours, was only that they should be Mediators for a Peace.

Let

Let us proceed to the fourth Reason that engages *France* to sue for a Peace, which is the low Estate of her Exchequer, and the miserable Condition to which the People are reduc'd. And to be fully satisfied in this particular, there needs no more then to consider, That the most Christian King has so little spar'd his People in Time of Peace, that 'tis no wonder to see 'em now reduc'd to utmost Misery. Certain it is, let him put on as good a Face as he pleases, that he clearly repents of a Conduct so opposite to his real Interests. Good Policy requires that a Prince should diligently labour in search of all the most probable ways to procure the flourishing Condition of his Kingdom, while a sound Peace secures him from all Attempts and Interruptions of his Enemies: To discharge his Subjects from the ponderous Burdens, with which they are overwhelm'd during the War; to revoke all Decrees and Declarations that tended to their Ruin; and lastly, to deliver 'em from all those Burthensome Impositions and chargeable Taxes with which they were oppress'd in Time of War; to the end they may have liberty to take Breath, and recover their decay'd Strength, that they may be the better enabl'd to bear new Burthens, when the Exigencies of the State require it.

Quite the contrary were the Proceedings of *Lewis* the Great, for no sooner were the *Pyrenean* Peace, the Treaties of *Aix la Chapelle*,

*elle*, and *Nimeguen* concluded, but he turns  
 his Arms against his own Subjects, and not  
 content with the Devastations of all *Europe*,  
 he ransacks the Bowels of his own Kingdom  
 and causes his People to wish a thousand  
 Times for War rather than Peace; to the end  
 that so many miserable Wretches might live  
 in torture from his Ambitious Tyranny. What  
 there to be imagin'd that *France* has left  
 undone to ruin his own Subjects? Her Coun-  
 cil has exhausted it self, in Decrees; no  
 sooner is one made publick, but three more  
 are in the Press. The Parliaments and Sove-  
 reign Courts that were formerly Protectors of  
 the People, and which were erected in the  
 reigns of this King's Predecessors, to ballance  
 the Royal Authority, are now reduc'd to such  
 a base and sordid Compliance with the Prince,  
 that they only sit to consent to, and authorize  
 his incroachments upon the People.

The Farmers, and they who have manag'd  
 the Publick Treasure, what have they left un-  
 done, what Artifices have they not made use  
 of to draw all the Mony of the Kingdom in-  
 to the King's Coffers? Have we not seen a  
*Colbert* almost murder himself by tormenting  
 his Brains in finding out a thousand Tricks to  
 reduce the People to utmost Beggary? That  
 Great Man was the Object of Court Adora-  
 tion, but the Abomination of the People:  
 Nor can I here forbear to recite what one Day  
 he answer'd his Majesty, upon occasion of

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some

some new Imposts that were going to be laid upon his Subjects. For upon the King's telling him, That such Exactions would en- force the People to cry out, meerly for Want, and finding themselves utterly unable to pay their Assessments, for that no body could pay who had it not. O, Sir, said he, *your Subjects are like a Sack of Flower, the more you shake it, the more Meal comes forth.* However it were, both that Minister, they that preceded, and they that follow'd him in the management of the Finances, understood it well to squeez the Kingdom of France, thaning whereas Thirty Millions was the highest Sum to which the Revenue of the Crown amounted formerly, they have rais'd it to above a hundred and threescore. We must not therefore think it strange to see that Monarchy oppressed as now it is, and the People reduc'd to the utmost Misery.

Besides all these ways, the most Christian King still puts in practise a great number of others, which have equally contributed to the Ruin of his Subjects ; such are his Quartering of Soldiers, Creations of New Offices, and suppressing of others ; his pretended Extirpation of the *Huguenot* Heresie ; and his Pious Foundations, of which the Kingdom is full. His sordid Compliance with the Monks and Clergy, who possessing the fairest Portion of his Realm, have heap'd up vast Treasures and Riches, to the impoverishment of the

laide meaner sort, who subsist only by their La-  
 bour and Industry. His prodigious Expences  
 in building Royal Houses, and erecting sum-  
 ptuous Monuments to his future Fame. The  
 vast Treasures he has wasted in bringing Ri-  
 vers into Places in despite of Mountains, the  
 Sublimed Oppositions of Nature, which he has  
 cut through, and Valleys which he has fill'd  
 up; all which cost *France* several Millions, and  
 many Thousand of her best Men. We may  
 add to all this, the joining of two Seas, and  
 the Royal Canal, in which hard Labours the  
 King sacrific'd the same number of his select-  
 ed Subjects. The enhauncing and abate-  
 ment of Mony, which has ruin'd Trade, and  
 reduc'd his People to the last drop of their  
 Wealth. The vast number of Forts and For-  
 tresses which he has built and rais'd upon all  
 the Frontiers of the Kingdom, which has cost  
 him immense Sums. The Pensions which he  
 has paid in all the Courts of *Europe* to make  
 alliances, or for the maintenance of his Em-  
 bassies, which costs him several Millions, and  
 the keeping afoot near two hundred thousand  
 Men in time of Peace, and 400000 in time of  
 War; the vast Sums which he expends in  
 building out great Fleets, besides what his Ma-  
 gazines of Ammunition and Provision upon the  
 Frontiers cost him. All this, I say, contri-  
 butes to the Ruin of *France*, and to reduce it  
 to that deplorable Condition wherein we find  
 it at this day.



Let it be as it will, the most Christian King having consum'd the most solid part of the Crown Demesnes, in so many extravagant ways of Expence, it may be said, That he has acted like those unwary Gamesters who, having undone themselves by Play know not where to betake themselves to get more. But this Prince is not only contented to have plaid away his own Revenues, he has also gam'd away the Estates of his Subjects; and by that means has reduc'd France to those Extremities which are enough to overturn it. So that 'tis no wonder to see Famine rage within his Kingdom.

The most Christian *Lewis XIV.* might have wish'd, that his Father *Lewis XIII.* in imitation of *Dagobert* the 'Leventh King of France had bin so pious, or rather a Person of so much Fore-sight, as to have cover'd the Church of *St. Denis* with Silver; to the end, that after he had drain'd his Exchequer, he might have had the same shift at a Pinch, as *Clovis*, the Son of *Dagobert* had, who uncovered the Church and made use of the Mony to save France which then began to be afflicted with a most terrible Dearth. But *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* had so much Work upon their Hands that their Reigns might well be said, to be rather Iron then Silver Reigns; and that they were so far from having any Overplus's to lay out upon *Dagobert's* pious uses, that they were forc'd to borrow, to supply the Exigencies of the State.

*Lewis*

*Lewis XIV.* was the Prince who of all the Kings of *France* possess'd the vastest heap of Treasure, and who beheld himself the most puissant of all his Predecessors, by the prodigious Improvement of his Finances and Revenues. To be convinc'd of this, there needs no more but to consider, That the Revenues of the Crown hardly mounted to 16 Millions in the Reigns of the *Valois's*. In *Henry V.*'s time, they ascended to Thirty. *Richlieu* under *Lewis XIII.* rais'd 'em to Forty five, and after him *Mazarine* advanc'd 'em to above sixty: Which was nothing to what they are mounted at present; for, according to an exact Computation, *Colbert* and the rest of the Publicans and Sinners, have advanc'd 'em to above a hundred and fifty Millions. But if the Treasures of this Monarch were more immense, his Ambition was also proportionable, and if they have bin so far from being sufficient to satisfy it, that he has bin also fain to sacrifice the Estates of the Church, and the Spoils of the Altars, after he has laid imposts upon all things else imaginable, he must be forc'd, at length, to lay a swinging Tax upon Urine, as formerly *Vespasian* did.

An unfortunate Gamester, after he has lost all, endeavours to recover himself by all the ways he can imagin, and managing the Cards or the Dice by himself in his own Hand, be-thinks himself at length of playing foul.

Thus the King of *France*, having ruin'd himself, his People and his Kingdoms, by imprudently engaging himself in a burthensome War, and which having been prosperous at the Beginning, has prov'd fatal to him in the end, endeavours to get himself out of the *Bryars* as well as he can. To which purpose he offers Peace to the Princes of the Confederacy, and sets all Springs at work to break the Union. He makes 'em Proposals ambiguous and full of Delusion; what he offers to day, he revokes to morrow. He orders *Cardinal Fourbin* to tell the Court of *Rome* That he is ready to lay down Arms, and to enter into a Negotiation with the Confederate Princes; but first, there must be a settlement for King *James* agreed upon.

To the Northern Crowns his Ambassador talks another sort of Language, and tell 'em That as to the Affairs of *England*, in regard that Royal Majesty appears to be wounded in the Person of King *James*, he makes no question, but the King of *Sweden* and the Emperor, will take it upon 'em to propose some Expedient to determin that Difference. As to the Court of *Vienna*, 'tis about ten Months since, that he made Proposals of Peace to his Imperial Majesty, quite different from those that appear'd in his Manifesto publish'd upon the *Rhine*. There is not any one of the Confederate Princes, or States, to whom he has not offer'd Proposals altogether different from those

him those which he now propounds. Witness his  
 Temptations to the Duke of Savoy, first by  
*Chanlais*, then by *Catinat*, and then by other  
 Ministers.

As to the States General of the United  
 Provinces, *France* made 'em Proposals, first  
 by *Oxeferne*, formerly the Swedish Embassa-  
 dor, who had two Audiences to that purpose,  
 besides the Proposals made 'em by *M. Lenthe*  
 the Danish Envoy. She has observ'd the same  
 conduct at the Court of *England*, where  
*M. Scheel* now talks at another rate. Several  
 other Projects have been presented at the  
 Courts of all the rest of the Confederate Prin-  
 ces, wherein there is nothing solid or con-  
 stant. Which is a convincing Proof that the  
 most Christian King seeks only to draw the  
 Confederates into a Negotiation, to obtain a  
 Cessation of Arms on purpose to amuse 'em,  
 while he on the other side assays by more  
 powerful Efforts to ruin their Union.

And this is *Lewis XIV's* foul Play, and the  
 compass which he fetches to attain his Ends,  
 and disintangle himself out of the Noose that  
 hampers him, by saving, if possible, the best  
 part of his Conquests, and delivering his Im-  
 poverish'd Dominions from the ponderous  
 Burthens which they groan under. And now  
 'tis for the Confederate Princes to consider  
 what they have to do, and not to suffer them-  
 selves to be deluded by the false and deceit-  
 ful shifts of *France*, and seriously to reflect

upon the fatal Misfortunes that will infallibly attend the conclusion of a disadvantageous Peace, if lending their Ears to the Offers of France, they neglect the fairest opportunity that ever was, to humble that haughty and perfidious Potentate, at a time when he begins for Peace, and when there needs no more than two Campaigns to obtain all the Advantages which they can expect to reap from their Perseverance. Which is so much the more Important, as being the reason that has armed all Europe against him, and occasion'd the august and potent Confederacy of so many justly incens'd Princes, and who are equally interested therein.

But what Assurances shall they have that the Peace which the most Christian King now proposes, shall not be violated like the Pyrenean Peace, and the Treaties of Aix la Chapelle and Nimeguen? How can they rely upon the Oath of a Prince, who acknowledges no other Law then that of his Ambition and Will? At the Peace of Arras, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, not being willing to trust Charles VII. who had brok'n his word in several other Treaties, was desirous that the last Article of the Treaty should run in these words: *That the King for assurance of the observation and full performance of the said Treaty, should deliver it seal'd by the Princes of his Blood, the Grandees of the Kingdom, and the principal Men of the chief Cities; and* that

that in case of any Breach, those Princes and Lords should be absolv'd from their Oaths of Fidelity toward the King, and be oblig'd to serve the Duke against him.

The Precautions of the Duke of Burgundy upon that occasion, might in some measure serve as a Garranty to secure the observance of Charles VII's Word and Oath. But it is to be consider'd, That the condition of the Grandees of the Kingdom, was not then the same as now it is. Charles VII. wanted a great deal of being so well belov'd, and so much fear'd by the People and Nobility of France, as Lewis XIV. at this day. The ways which he has taken to gain the Affection of his Subjects are quite different. Formerly a little thing would have open'd a wide Gate to Faction and Revolt, and incens'd the Grandees and Lords of the Kingdom to take Arms: But now the Case is alter'd. The King has reduc'd 'em all equally to such a dependance upon him, that no Body dares stir; and it would be in vain for the Confederate Princes to think of laying the foundation of a solid and lasting Peace upon any such Article, in imitation of the Duke of Burgundy.

For proof of this we may observe, that since the beginning of this Reign, looking backward as far as the King's Minority, France has no longer car'd to be sensible or take notice of the Troubles that had lacerated

her very Bowels : So that notwithstanding all the Efforts that were usd to re-kindle the same Sparks, it was impossible to bring it to pass. To which, it may be said that *Maximilian* and the Ministers that succeeded him, as also the King himself, who is sharp-sighted enough, did not contribute a little by means of their good management at the beginning. And in regard the People are ignorant in Politics, and for that it is impossible for 'em to dive into the secrets of the Cabinet, 'twas an easie thing for that Monarch, being so good a *Matchiavilian* as he is, to reduce his Subjects under that Bondage, wherein we now behold 'em. He easily brought it to pass, by depriving 'em of all the means that might prove a Bait to Insurrection.

Therefore, it behoves the Confederate Princes to take another course, which is, to oppose him with a puissant Force proportionable to his own, and to tire him out by a prolongation of the War, which will at length enforce him, when thoroughly debilitated and brought upon his last Legs, to restore to every one their Rights, and what he has usurp'd by breach of Treaties, and no less treacherous in observance of his word.

As often as I revolve in my mind the Quarrels which *Lewis XII.* had with *Ferdinand King of Arragon*, and compare the Genius's of those two Princes one with the other, as well as their Conduct, I cannot forbear to ap-



ply it to the Contests at this present between *Lewis XIV.* and the Confederate Princes. For in all the Treaties that *Lewis* made with *Ferdinand*, the latter was always too hard for the former: And it may be said, That of the Princes that ever reign'd, there never was one more perfidious, or who more gloriously vaunted in the Display of his Dishonesty; as may appear by the Reply which he made his Secretary, who telling his Master how *Lewis* complain'd extreamly of his having deceiv'd him twice. Twice! reply'd *Ferdinand*, *By God he lies like a Tooth-drawer, I have cheated him above ten times.*

I am perswaded that the most Christian King has out-done *Ferdinand* in point of Knavery: So that if the Confederates should reproach him with having twice deceiv'd 'em, he might truly answer, that he had deceiv'd 'em as oft as he concluded Treaties with 'em. So that the Confederate Princes have no more to do then to consider, how little Ground they have to depen'd upon that Monarch, who boasts the Trophies of his Perfidiousness no less then *Ferdinand*. But the Friends of France will answer, That *Lewis XII.* was as little scrupulous in violating his word, in his Treaties with *Maximilian* the Emperor; witness the Treaties of *Trent* and *Blois*. Which if it be true, and that Princes violate their Words and Oaths as soon as they have pledg'd and sworn 'em, to what purpose do Treaties serve? We must

must say, as *Silius* said to *Hannibal*, That *Alliance and Justice hang at the point of the Sword*, and that prevailing Power is the only Law among the great ones: And thus you see a wide Gate set open for Plunder and Robbery, and there Remains no more for us to do, but to prepare our selves for open and perpetual War, and the continual shedding of Blood, with as much Cruelty and Barbarism, as Beasts of Prey: According to the words of *Seneca*, speaking of unjust Wars. I can safely say, 'tis not only a piece of Cruelty, but the natural Inclination of a Savage Beast, to delight in nothing but Blood. We may call it a turning of the Brains topsie-turvie, or a sort of Madness, for there are several kinds of it; Tho' none more visible then that which transports Men to Murder and Butchery.

We may aver, without wronging the Honour of *Lewis* the Great, that *Seneca* learns him a good Lesson in this Place, and not only him but all other Ambitious Princes. Nor is *Seneca* the only Abhorrer of these abominable Principles. That Man, says *Aristotle*, must needs be lookt upon as very cruel, who makes his Friends his Enemies, out of a Desire only to make War. In like manner says *Dio* the *Prusiean*, To be prone to War and Combat without a Cause, is a pure Madness that seeks Mischief for Mischiefs sake.

However it be, this is certain, that the most Christian King himself being the Author of

of all the Calamities and Misfortunes that at present turmoyle *Europe*, as well as his Counsellors, among whom we may number *Luxemburgh*, who may be call'd his Right Hand, and the Person who infuses into him a good part of these Cruelties which his Armies commit, will be no less responsible before God, then if he should imbrue his Hands in the same Massakers. Let him give out as long as he pleases, by his Ministers and Emissaries in all the Courts of *Europe*, That he burns with a Desire to stop the Bleeding Veins of so many Innocents, who shed their Blood in this cruel War: Let him publish by sound of Trumpet, by Heralds at Arms, in all the chief Streets of his Capital City, his eager Passion to restore Peace to his Subjects: Let him order the Archbishop of *Paris* to order the tiring all the Saints in Heaven, with his Forty Hours prayers; Let him weary the Holy Father with Importunities, to mediate an Accommodation between him and the Catholick Princes, as formerly did *Paul III.* between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.*

We must answer him in a Word, that 'tis not his Grief for the Sufferings of *Christendom*, that inclines him to a Peace, but his eager desire to dissolve the Union of the Confederate Princes, whose power infuses into him Fears of dreadful Consequence; resolv'd, after he has recover'd Strength, to recommence the War, and plague all *Europe* with

with more Mischiefs in the midst of Peace than in the heat of bloody War.

If this Monarch have now more pious and equitable Sentiments, and such as are truly different from those which he had when he concluded the Three so often-mention'd Treaties, together with the Truce for Twenty Years, let him make 'em appear by the Restoration of all that he has usurp'd since the first Peace concluded in the Island of *Pheasant*. The *Roman* Lawyers affirm, That he is a public Robber, who being demanded, wherefore he detains the Possession of such or such a thing, has no other reason to give then only because he possesses it. To which we may add that Saying of *Aristotle*, speaking of those who advise War, *That they very seldom take any heed whether it be Just and Lawful to reduce their Neighbours under the Yoke of Bondage, who never gave 'm any Cause; or to oppress those, who never did 'em any Injury.*

Should the Question be put to *France*, by what Rights she now possesses so many Principalities and separate Dominions, of which she has despoil'd so many several Sovereign Princes? It would not suffice her to allege her chimerical Rights of Reunion, Dependence and Convenience, pumpt from the hollow Noddle of some old Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*, more fit to be derided then to be the Ground of any serious Contest, where-  
in

in important Matters of Fact must be supported by sound, solid and undeniable Reasons. But if you can but get *France* from thence, as out of her Fortress, in regard she had no other Reason to give, she must be constrain'd to acknowledge, that she possesses 'em, because she possesses 'em. So that is not this a perfect Robbery and a manifest Usurpation of her Neighbour's Rights? and is there any Wrong done her in demanding Restitution? Ought she not to be contented with her having enjoy'd 'em so many Years, and to have all-a-long receiv'd the Revenues which amount to immense Sums? It may be thought also, that the Princes of the League would do her a great Favour, if they discharge her at so cheap a rate, as the restoring 'em in the same Condition as actually now they are, which, without Contradiction, is far worse then what they were in when she first seiz'd upon 'em. For example, *Alsatia*, *Franche Comte*, the Dutchies of *Burgundy*, *Lorraine* and *Bar*; of *Luxemburg* and *Deux Ponts*, the County of *Chini*, the Principality of *Orange*, part of *Brabant* and *Fland's*, all which she has usurp'd and annex'd to the Crown. No Body can be ignorant that all these were opulent and flourishing Countries under the Dominion of their Lawful Sovereigns, whereas at present they are impoverish'd, and reduc'd to utmost misery. Could a true Computation be made of the Wealth which

which they abounded in before they were invaded by *France*, I am perswaded there would not now be found so much *Mony* in all together, as one single Principality was worth at that Time. So that if *France* be discharged for making Restitution of 'em in their present condition, she must needs be a prodigious Gainer, considering that she goes clear away with all the Spoils, of which she has stript those *Provinces* to their Skins, to erect a Puissance always formidable to her Neighbours.

On the other side, it may be said, that if the Confederates enforce that Crown to dismember from her Dominions so many potent Principalities, and so many lovely Acquisitions, they may justly promise to themselves a just and durable Peace, by disabling her to extend her ambitious Incroachments, as hitherto she has done. There is no doubt but the Predecessors of *Lewis* the Great would have been as active and as troublesome to their Neighbours as he, had they had the same Force and the same Treasures. The Desire of growing Great is natural to all Sovereigns, and it is look'd upon as a Noble Passion, when it is sufficiently supported to carry on Great Enterprizes, and is attended with Prosperity. So that if the Reigns of *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* were not so fortunate and flourishing as that of *Lewis XIV.* 'twas because they wanted Power, and because their

Reve-

Revenues were so small, that they could hardly bring into the Field an Army of above 40 or 50000 Men, whereas *France*, under this Raign, has extended her Limits so far as she has done by the vast Augmentation of her Forces, and prodigious Advancement of her Revenues; to which her Violation of Treaties has greatly contributed. She finds herself enlarg'd by a great number of Dukedoms, Earldoms, Principalities, Lordships, Signiories and Territories sufficient altogether to compose a Kingdom as vast and of as large an extent as ancient *France*; nay, tho you should consider it as it was before the *Pyrenean* Peace.

'Tis Time then, most Serene Confederate Princes, to bethink your selves of prescribing Bounds to this ambitious Puissance, such as may secure your Liberty, your Repose, and the Welfare of your Dominions. You know full well, what your staying so long has cost ye, and past Experience ought to instruct ye, that you have no time to lose; and that if you let slip this favourable Opportunity, which Fortune has put into your Hands, such another may not suddenly return. The Marquis of *Louvois* told the King, some Months before his Death, *That he foresaw this War would be like the Preceding: That your Projects and your Enterprizes would vanish in Smoak; That Misunderstanding began to get footing among ye; that one Campaign*  
more



more would shatter the Union, and that there wanted nothing but the Loss of a Battle, to make a second Peace of Nimeguen. That is to say, a Peace both Glorious and Advantageous for France, and unfortunate to the Confederates. This Minister, zealous for his Master's Interests, grounded his Arguments and Conjectures upon the small Resistance which you made till now; which occasion'd the loss of several Battels, and the taking of several considerable Towns. And, to speak, as we find things, it was not greatly for the Honour of so many Princes as the Confederacy consists of, that only England and the United Provinces have fought effectually against France.

These Two Potentates have done every thing, have paid every thing, have supply'd every thing: So that 'is no wonder if they have obtain'd signal Advantages. At the same Time France assails ye on every side; Her Armies are early in the Field; they ravage your Territories, and carry all before 'em with Fire, with Sword and Desolation, while you remain immoveable in Winter-Quarters, till the Enemy has made himself Master of the most Advantageous Posts, and consum'd your Forrage.

I bury in silence a great number of Defects and Failings which King William has endeavour'd to repair with indefatigable Pains and Industry. 'Tis to that great Prince, to whom

whom all *Europe* is at this Day beholding for the happy condition of her Affairs, which put all the Confederates in hopes of a speedy and solid Peace. It is only to be wish'd that the Zeal of that undaunted Monarch were well seconded, and that all the Confederate Princes and States would push on their utmost Efforts, towards putting a final End to so glorious an Enterprize, after which so many People, under Oppression, so earnestly pant.

Now, to be convinc'd that there needs no more then the good fortune of one Campaign, successful to the Confederates, to obtain of *France* what has been usurp'd since the *Pyrenean Treaty*, let us only consider her Advances, and her Condescensions to obtain a Peace. Having hitherto sown, in vain, her Treasures in all the Courts of *Europe*, to purchase the Neutrality of several Members of the Confederacy, or the Mediation of the Northern Crowns, and other States and Princes, devoted to her Interests; finding that all this produc'd nothing, she flatter'd her self, as her last Remedy, that the Court of *Rome* would have Authority enough to awe the Catholick Princes into an Accommodation. To that purpose she left nothing omitted to procure the Favour of that Court; and it may be said that her Sedulities were not Fruitless on that side, and that it was none of the Holy Fathers Fault, if the Emperor and the

the Catholick King did not abandon the Common Cause, to make a separate Peace.

It had bin well for *France*, that the present Pope had had the good luck or the Genius of *Clement VIII.* at the Peace of *Vervin*, concluded in 1598. That Holy Father press'd so importunately upon *Henry IV.* and *Philip II.* that he perswaded those Two Princes at length into a Reconciliation, and to restore Tranquility to *Christendom*. Nevertheless it was not procur'd without a world of Toyl and Difficulty, witness the extraordinary Pain that the Popes Legate, Cardinal *Alexander de Medicis* took, who was sent to *Henry IV.* and had not that Cardinal bin as cunning as he was, he had never succeeded, nor done his Business as he did, with that Prince. Nor was the Reverend Father, Friar *Bonaventure Calatagirone*, General of the *Franciscan* Order, less dextrous in perswading Prince *Albert*, Archduke of *Austria*, and Nephew to *Philip II.* So that the Holy Father wrought so effectually by the means of those two great Men, that he perswaded both Crowns to lay down their Arms, and so second the Repose and Tranquility of *Europe*, which was almost in the same Confusion as now it is.

*France* having always observ'd that the Popes had bin always the Sovereign Umpires and Arbitrators of the Quarrels between the Two Houses, could not take a more advantageous and more favourable Course then  
now

Com  
 how she did. . But, as we have already ob-  
 serv'd, 'twas not sufficient for *France* to be  
 reconcil'd to the Court of *Rome*, by sacrificing  
 to her all her Resentments, which seem'd to  
 end to a personal Enmity and Disobedience,  
 which *France* had display'd to all the World  
 with so much Pride and Haughtiness, and  
 by this means to have induc'd her to espouse  
 her Interests; there was a necessity of some-  
 thing more, that should have met in the Per-  
 son of the present *Pope*, a cunning Dexterity,  
 like that of *Clement VIII.* and *Paul III.* who  
 Mediated the Peace between *Charles V.* and  
*Francis I.*

was  
 If *Clement* was put to so much Trouble be-  
 fore he could pacifie the Troubles that ren-  
 der'd *Henry IV.* and *Philip II.* Irreconcilable,  
 Pope *Paul* had much more to do with *Charles*  
*V.* and *Francis I.* who being come to *Nice*,  
 where Pope *Paul III.* expected 'em to put an  
 end to their Differences, as a Common Father  
 and Mediator, all that the Holy Father who  
 was the most Perspicacious and Politic Prince  
 of his Age, could do, was to make those two  
 Monarchs agree upon a Truce for Ten Years,  
 without seeing each other; it being impossible  
 for him to perswade 'em to a final Peace. So  
 that one may safely say, that Affairs are at  
 present in the same posture, and that there  
 appears but very little hope for the Most  
 Christian King to expect a Peace by the way  
 of *Rome*. The Union of the Confederate Prin-  
 ces

ces is knit so fast, that 'tis in vain for him to think to dissolve it by any Intrigues of the Spiritual Court. As Crafty as the Cardinals *Fourbin* and *d'Estrees* are, and whatever Artifices they make use of, we do not find they have made any progress as yet. So that *France* having nothing to trust to but her Arms, of necessity she must renew her preparations for the War, or propound more Honourable and Advantageous Offers in order to a Peace, then those already presented by the Ministers of *Denmark*.

The Confederate Princes will never consent to any Treaty that is not attended with the Restitution of all that *France* has Usurp'd since the *Pyrenean* Treaty. Let her thunder out her Resentment in the rage and fury of new Cruelties: Let her Burn and lay all Waste before her: Let her do all the Mischief that formerly was practis'd by *Charles* the Bald, Sur-named the *Terrible*, with a design to obtain by Force what he cannot obtain by Gentle Means. Let him make his Protestations in all the Courts of Europe, that he is ready to lay down his Arms: Let him proclaim as loud as he pleases by the Mouths of his Emis-saries, the sincerity of his Intentions: Let him exalt himself in Promises, and with a thousand Rodomantadoes sound forth the Advantages which he offers the Confederates; - All this will never inveagle 'em to accept of a Treaty.

The

The Confederate Princes are now resolv'd to imitate the Conduct of *Henry IV.* toward *Philip II.* For *Henry* having too often experienc'd how little all the Promises of the Spanish Monarch were to be rely'd upon, would never enter into any Negotiation, till he had made Restitution of all his Conquests; and order'd him to be told, that when he had restor'd back all that he had taken from him, then should the *Spaniard* see what he would do. The Confederate Princes have both reason, and are likewise in a condition to hold the King of *France's* Nose to the same Grindstone. When he has restor'd to every particular Person what he has wrested from 'em by Invasion; the Estates and Fortresses of which he has despoiled several Sovereign Princes, Then the Allies will enter into a Negotiation, to the end they may all together agree upon the Means the most effectual to procure a solid and lasting Peace.

If they delay to enter into a Negotiation till *France* shall make a Previous Offer of restoring all she has won since the *Pyrenean Treaty*, there is no question but she will do as she did at the Peace of *Nimeguen*, that is to say, she will commit more Havoc and Cruelties then in the greatest heat of War, on purpose to make 'em hasten the conclusion of the Treaty, and be more willing to grant her Demands. This Conduct of hers is so much the more Advantageous, because she knows by Expe-

Experience, that her talking of Peace, was wont to lull the Confederates asleep, while on the other side Misunderstanding crept in among 'em; besides that, they were willing to lessen their Forces at a time when it became 'em rather to redouble their Efforts.

If the King of France had the good luck to Succeed, and that he effectually perswaded the Confederate Princes to accept his Offers, He had no small reason at that time to boast his having restor'd Peace to *Europe*, but they might well cry out with *Horace* for all that,

*Quid dignum tanto feret hic Promissor hiatu,  
Parturiunt Montes nascetur Ridiculus Mus.*

And he had likewise as much reason to say, that he had the honour to make all the Confederates draw their Swords, and to Disarm 'em when they had done; and that that same Potent League, sufficient to have made the French Monarchy Tremble, and reduce her to her ancient Bounds, did nothing more then only Forge the Shackles themselves, with which *France* intended to have bound 'em to a more cruel Slavery then what they had endur'd before.

To be convinc'd of this, there needs no more but to consider, that all that *France* offers to restore to the Confederates, may be re-taken by her Arms in less then one Campaign, so soon as the Confederates should have  
laid



aid down their Arms and Disbanded their forces. There's no necessity for me to enlarge upon the Proof of this: 'Tis sufficient to say, the King of *France* has no other Aim, then to revive his old Maxims, presently after the conclusion of the Peace. And indeed 'tis a hard matter for an Unlimited Prince to set Bounds to his Designs; and to root out of his Heart, the principles which Ambition and Avarice, have planted there with so much Industry even from his tender Youth. And therefore we must not abuse our selves; so long as *Lewis* the Great continues Great, as being surrounded with such a real and effectual Power as he now Possesses, which may be said to be the highest degree of Exaltation and Grandeur to which a Prince can attain, he will always give Laws to *Europe*, and all the rest of the Princes must depend upon him in such a manner, as never to be able to Affranchise themselves but by his Downfall.

Let 'em Upbraid as much as they please *Charles* the Gross with his want of Sincerity during the whole course of his Reign, and the paltry Artifices he made use of to rid himself of his Enemies; he never alter'd his Conduct nor his Maxims; so long as he had the Power in his Hands, he was always the same; and it may be said, that he never began to live in Repose and to become wise, till he was Banish'd into a Village of *Swabia*, with a very mean Pension, where he Died for Grief. Lo-

*thair* the Son of *Lewis Oultremer* the XXXIV King of *France*, was a Prince the most Perfidious and the most Turbulent that ever ascended the Throne of the French Monarchy ; and as he liv'd, so he dy'd, and retain'd his abominable Principle to his Death. So that we may safely say, That so long as the most Christian King continues as Potent as he is at present, he will never suffer his Neighbours to be at Quiet ; and the Confederate Princes must be always preparing themselves for new Combustions, after the conclusion of a Peace. Which will be so far from lessening his Forces, that it will acquire him new degrees of Glory and Grandeur.

Since then 'tis so absolutely necessary to reject the present Offers of the Most Christian King, and that there is no other way to obtain a firm Peace, but by the continuance of a brisk War, in order to bring down the Power of this Monarch, there is no time to lose ; within a Month or six Weeks, his Armies will be in the Field, and if we may believe him, he will be no longer bound to stand to his Royal Word, which he gave the 15th of *March*. The Duke of *Luxemburg* begins to Liqueur his Boots, and is preparing in earnest to shew us some new Trick of his Necromancy. And this same Marshal, whom the Prince of *Conde* was wont to call *L' Enfant perdu*, or a *Child of the forlorn Hope*, in reference to his turbulent and sanguinary Genius, has promis'd

his

IV his Majesty, that tho' it cost him his Life, he  
 will make him Master this Campaign, either  
 of *Liege* or *Mastricht*, or at the worst of a  
 second Field-Victory, no less Glorious then  
 that of *Landen*, out of a confidence, that  
 one of these Events will force the Confede-  
 rates in despite of their Teeths, to accept  
 the Peace which he Offers.

But to return to the Battle of *Landen*; I  
 cannot forbear to write a pleasant Passage,  
 which is reported of the Marshal. So soon  
 as the Battle was over, seeing himself environ'd  
 with a crowd of Lieutenant Generals, Camp-  
 Marshals, Brigadiers, Major-Generals and o-  
 ther Officers of the Army, who came all to  
 Congratulate him for the signal Victory he  
 had won, *Ha! Boys*, said he, *How shall we call*  
*this Battle?* Upon which, while every one  
 stood gaping one upon another, not knowing  
 what to Answer, and that some were of Opi-  
 nion to call it by the Name of the Place  
 where it was Fought, according to Custom,  
 the Marshal replied, *No, Gentlemen, we will*  
*call it the Bavin-Battle: instead of calling*  
*it the Battle of Landen, we must call it the*  
*Battle of Bavins.* And indeed he had reason  
 enough to call it so. However, if he deceiv'd  
 the Confederates, by Attacquiring an Army of no  
 more then Forty Thousand, with another of  
 a Hundred and twenty Thousand, let him  
 take heed he be not deceiv'd in his turn, if  
 ever he be forc'd to Fight upon equal Terms,

as in all probability he may be this very Campaign. Nevertheless we may be bold to tell him this, That if he acted like a Master in the Art of War in time of Fight, he committed the fault of an ignorant Apprentice, in not pursuing his Victory, and reaping no Fruit of so much Blood as had been shed. But to return to the Subject,

*Boufflers*, another Favourite of the French Monarch, promis'd him Mountains and Wonders; and for a greater proof of his Zeal and Devotion to his Majesty's Service, he has already caus'd his Sword to be Whetted, and his own and the Arms of the French Guards, together with the *Flambeaux* for the House-Burners, to be Bless'd by the Archbishop of *Paris*; with a resolution to fight like a *Termagant*, and to lay Waste all before him with Fire and Sword. *Catinat* also no less famous for the Lawrels he gather'd in the Field of *Marsaglia*, makes as great Promises to the King his Master; and if his Majesty will believe him, the Duke of *Savoy* runs a great hazard of losing the rest of his Dominions, and of hearing French *Te Deums* Sung in the Cathedral of *Turin*.

The *Dauphin* also, who is to Command in *Germany*, if he be not Countermanded, wants neither Courage nor good Will. He has given signal proofs of both upon several Occasions, and if we may believe him, *Lewis* of *Baden's* Business is only to seek for an *Asylum* and

and a Camp that may secure him from the loss of a Battle, like that of the last Campaign. And as an accumulation to the Vauntings of so many Hero's that labour by Concert for the Honour of their Prince, and to draw *Dun* out of the Mire, there wants nothing but a second *Smyrna* Fleet, and *Tourville* Admiral of a French Navy, to render him as Glorious by Sea, as the other Generals pretend to be by Land.

We are then in great expectation of some extraordinary Event, which must decide the good or bad Fortune of so many Princes, which the Most Christian King has enforc'd to betake themselves to Arms. And the Confederate Princes are so much the rather enclin'd to terminate the Differences by the Sword, because they find it impossible to obtain by any other means an Accomodation with *France*. Which is no more then what the most Christian King has made most clearly apparent, by the ridiculous Proposals offer'd by the Ministers of the Northern Crowns. So that War being indispensably necessary, it behoves 'em to prepare for it in good earnest.

If we may believe the News that is brought us from some Persons residing in the Court of *France*, 'tis said that his Most Christian Majesty was in a pelting Chafe to hear that his Offers were rejected with so much Scorn; and there was not a day past over his

Head, that he did not confer with *Marshall de Luxemburg*, about what Enterprize was fit to be undertaken, and where it was most proper to open the Campaign. For the King well knowing of what Importance it would be to his Affairs, would fain have something done Remarkable to raise the drooping hopes of his dejected People, and which might at the same time uphold the Reputation of his Arms, and constrain the Confederates at length to accept the Peace which he Offer'd them. All these Considerations put him to a great Nonplus. To begin in *Flanders* with the Siege of some Place of Importance, would not be amiss; But as ill Luck will have it there are no more *Mons's* and *Namur's* to take, there remain two Places only be worthy the Presence of so great a King; *Liege* and *Maestricht*. But the Custody and Preservation of one of these Places, is entrusted with the *Spaniards*; and for that *Luxemburg* has had too much experience of the Bravery of the *Hollanders*, 'tis not his Opinion that his Majesty should adventure his Fame and Reputation upon a Siege where he must fight against whole Armies, of which the Garisons are Compos'd. So that his Majesty in all likelihood will be contented with taking a Journey into *Flanders*, to give his Ladies a little fresh Air; and if he finds no probability of doing any thing considerable, he will return

return by the way of *Dinant*, under pretence  
of some Indisposition of Body.

If the Marshals of *Luxemburg*, *de Lorge*,  
*Catinat* and *Boufflers*, are to be believ'd, there  
will be some Set-Battles this Year ; and there-  
fore it was not thought convenient to under-  
take any this last Winter, for fear of Tying  
out the Soldiers, considering the need of  
Fresh Men to support so many great Actions.  
Only the *French* could wish their Cavalry  
were a little more Numerous, and that they  
could be suppli'd with the Horses which the  
*Jews* of *Metz* engag'd to procure 'em. But  
the strict Order taken by the Confederates,  
was an Invincible Obstacle which they never  
expected.

Thus you see what famous Exploits were  
design'd in the Cabinet at *Versailles*. But if  
the Confederate Princes do their Duty and act,  
by concert, 'tis in a manner certain, that *France*  
will only Triumph in Imagination, and that she  
runs a great hazard of seeing her self in as  
bad or worse Condition in the end of the  
Campaign as she was at the Beginning. The  
Confederates with much more reason, hope  
to Ruin her by prolonging the War, and to  
enforce her in despite of all her Flourishes  
and Bravado's, to Surrender back all her U-  
surpations. 'Tis a good Omen for the Con-  
federates, that *France* begins the first of all to  
talk of Peace, and that she offers to restore  
some part of her Conquests. 'Tis a sign she



is weary of the War, and that her Conscience upbraids her with Perfidiousness, and at the same time ordains her to make restitution of her Usurpations, if she intends to be Reconcil'd with her Enemies. As for the Confederates, who are without Reproach in that Particular, they are not yet so Harraß'd by the incumbent Necessities and fatal Exigencies attending a long War, but that with far less Prejudice, they can still maintain their Resolutions of never hearkning to a Treaty, unless that *France* submit to surrender whatever she has possess'd her self of by Invasion since the *Pyrenean Peace*.

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**ADDENDA.**

## A D D E N D A.

**T**HAT it is the general Interest of Europe, to have the *Pyrenean Treaty* restor'd to its full Force, has been shewn at large in the foregoing Discourses; but how particularly England is concern'd in that Restitution, is what will appear by the following Reflections; wherein I intend to shew that it is particularly both the Interest and Honour of this Nation, never to consent to a Peace, till the Affairs of Europe be reduc'd to the same condition as they were when the *Treaty*, we speak of, was concluded.

'Tis agreed on all hands, That the Peace of *Christendom* cannot be lasting and firm, unless there be an *Equilibrium* between the two Greatest Powers: For, when at any Time one prevails over the other, Ambition never wants a Pretence to make War; which, in its consequence, tho at first began only between them Two, yet in the end sets all the

States of *Christendom* together by the Ears, and involves them in all the Miseries that attends a most barbarous and unmerciful War. So long as the *Spaniards* were at the Top of the Wheel, what Troubles, Wars and Misfortunes did they not occasion in *Christendom* by their foolish and immoderate Ambition, to Lord it over all the World besides? And since the *French* have succeeded them in their Fortunes and Designs, what Barbarities, Desolations and Cruelties have we not seen and felt? This therefore sheweth the absolute necessity of an *Equilibrium* between *France* and the House of *Austria*; but the Question is how to come at it.

Whosoever will be at the pains to consider well what has bin said before, must agree, That there is no other way left to balance those two Powers, but to revive the *Pyrenean Treaty*; which put such reasonable Bounds to those two contending Empires, that, I dare say, it would be very easy to preserve Peace in *Christendom*, did the Christians but mind their own true Interest. But, perhaps, some will say against this; How can you affirm that that Treaty did set the Scales even between those two Crowns, seeing the *French* are grown so powerful since that time, and the *Spaniards* on the other Hand have suffer'd such considerable Losses? This is a great Objection, I confess indeed, and that which seems, at first, a *Demonstration*, that that Treaty was

too advantageous to *France* ; yet when it is thoroughly enquir'd into, it will appear to be very trivial, and of no force at all, as I hope to shew before I have done.

And the better to clear this Difficulty, I say, first, That to pretend to set such an exact *Equilibrium* between *France* and the House of *Austria*, as may infallibly secure the Peace of *Europe*, without the concurrence of the other States, is a foolish and an idle Speculation, and, indeed, an Impossibility.

2. That all that we can reasonably expect, is, to set *France* and the House of *Austria* in such a condition, that whenever one of them shall venture to disturb the Peace of *Europe*, it might be in the power of another State to turn the Scales, and command them to be quiet. And,

3. I say, That the Treaty concluded at the *Pyrenees*, left *France* and the House of *Austria*, in such a condition,

Now to prove this, I have nothing else to do, but to shew, That there was then such a Power in being, as was able to keep both the *French* and *Spaniards* in Peace, and that was *England*. But to set this truth in its full Light, I shall only put the Reader in mind of the Causes of the Growth of *France*, in which the Author of the foregoing Treatise is, in my Opinion, very defective.

For

- For tho' the great Ability of their *Ministers of State*, the good use of their *Mony*, and the *Arbitrary Power* of their *King*, may have contributed very much to these *Conquests*; yet, after all, they owe more, to say not all, to the kindness of *King Charles II.* and to the supine carelessness of the *English*. This will appear the more visible, if we consider the happy Circumstances that *King Charles* was in upon his *Restoration*. The Effeminacy, Luxury, and other Vices which have bin since so common amongst us, were then unknown to the *English*; for *Cromwel* had left him a true, sober and warlike Nation. Our Seamen having curbed the *Dutch*, they defied (and that with Justice) all the Powers of the World to contend with them for the *Empire* of the Sea: We were Masters of *Dunkirk*, a very considerable Place, and which lying between the *French* and *Spaniards*, was, as we may say, a *Throne* upon which a *King of England* could decide, without Appeal, the Differences between *France* and *Spain*. In short, to crown all this, *King Charles* found the most liberal People that ever was. Now, after this, who will deny that *England* was then in a condition to restrain the *French*, and oblige them to stand still, tho' they had bin in a much better posture then they were: For these Divisions were not altogether appeased, and their Fleet, at that time, was so very considerable

siderable, that they made but a very little figure at Sea.

By what has bin said, I hope it appears, That if a Peace has not reigned in *Europe* since the *Pyrenean Treaty*, it is not because there was not an *Equilibrium* set between *France* and the House of *Austria*, but only because those whose glorious Province it was to maintain the *publick Peace*, were corruptible Men; and, therefore, I conclude, that if that Treaty be restor'd, if the Affairs of *Europe* were reduc'd to the same Condition as they were then in, we shall enjoy a lasting Peace: For it is not to be supposed that any King of *England* for the future, will be persuaded to sell *Dunkirk* to the *French*; to teach them how to manage their Fleet; to join with them against the *Dutch*, our *Confederates*; and, in a word, to suffer them to swallow *Flanders*, or any other Country. 'Tis said, indeed, that Glory is the inseparable Companion of Princes; but sure I am, that the Prince we speak of, must be excepted out of that Rule; for had he felt any sting of that noble Passion, is it to be believ'd, that he would have divested himself of the most glorious Advantage and Title, that ever any *Christian Prince* enjoy'd, viz. of being the *Umpire* of *Europe*, and the *Defender* of the *Peace*, as well as of the *Faith*?

Now since the Restitution of the *Pyrenean Treaty* is so absolutely necessary for the Peace  
of

of *Christendom*, 'tis plain, That *England*, as well as other Nations now in *Confederacy* with her, must be engag'd to continue the War till we obtain it ; but, besides, we are engag'd by the Ties of Honour and Glory in this Quarrel. It hath been our former Prince's Negligence, or our own, that hath made this wide a Breach in *Europe* ; and are we not bound in *Honour*, as well as in *Justice*, to make it up ? We have lost the fairest Flower of our Crown, in parting with the Advantages I have mention'd ; are we not bound therefore, for the Glory of our Country to strive to regain them ? *Dunkirk*, I know, was not yielded to the *English* by the *Pyrenean* Treaty ; but was it not then our own, since soon after *King Charles* sold it ?

How much the loss of *Calais* was bewail'd by our Fore-fathers, I think needless to tell my Reader, since it hastened the death of *Queen Mary* her self ; but with what Tranquility we suffer'd the loss of *Dunkirk*, is indeed a Subject of Wonder ; but I think it still a greater, to hear many People say, that it is against our Interest to demand the Restitution of that Place, unless they will say, that *Calais* was of more advantage to *England*, which I have no reason to believe, as I could easily shew, if I would break the Bounds which I have prescrib'd to my self.

I would



I would conclude here, and truly 'tis high time, but I think my self oblig'd to answer, or at least to prevent an Objection, which some People may possibly make. If almost all the Princes of *Europe* in *Confederacy* together, are scarce now able to resist *France*, how is it possible that *England* alone should keep the *Balance even* between that Kingdom and the House of *Austria*? To this I answer, that if *France* was supposed to be always as powerful, as it is at this day, or as it has been for many Years of late, the Objection would then hold good, and I should reckon my self something worse then a Fool to believe that *England* and *Spain* would be able to counter-balance it, since, as it is observ'd, so many States in conjunction together, find it a difficult matter to do it; but if the *French* are once brought back to the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and once shut up within these ancient Bounds, then I dare say, That *England* will be able to turn the Scale to what side soever she pleases, and especially if *Dunkirk* be restor'd to us. All the World knows, that the *French* have made great *Conquests*, and consequently that they must be stronger then they were formerly; but the better to make this Truth sensible, and to give at the same time a just Idea of their present Strength, I'll offer to the Reader a List of the principal Towns and Countries which they have acquir'd (to use their own Phrase) since the *Pyrenean Treaty*.

Dun-

Dunkirk  
 Bergue St. Vinox  
 Ypres  
 Menin  
 Furnes  
 Tournay  
 Lille  
 Douay  
 St. Omer  
 Valenciennes  
 Conde  
 Bouchain  
 Cambray  
 Aire  
 St. Guilain  
 Mons  
 Charleroy  
 Namur  
 Huy  
 Dinant  
 Charlemont  
 Maubeuge  
 Luxemburgh with all  
 its Dependencies  
 The whole Dutchy of  
 Lorrain

The County of Bur-  
 gundy, in which are  
 very Considerable  
 Places, as,  
 Besancon  
 Dole  
 Salins, &c.  
 Treves or Tryers, with  
 almost that Electo-  
 rate.  
 Montroial  
 Strasbourgh  
 Philipsbourgh  
 Landau  
 Friburgh  
 The whole Dutchy of  
 Savoy  
 Suse  
 Cazal  
 Nisse  
 Ville Franche  
 Roses, and many o-  
 thers, which for bre-  
 vity-sake I shall o-  
 mit.

All these Places are extraordinary well for-  
 tified, and have large Dependencies, and this  
 makes

makes *France* so powerful, and almost impenetrable either in *Flanders* or *Germany* ; but it must be granted, that if the *French* were once oblig'd to restore them to their right Owners, they would cease to be so formidable ; from whence I conclude again, that it is in the *Pyrenean Treaty* alone, we can find that *Equilibrium* I have spoken of, and which is so absolutely necessary to the Peace of *Europe*.

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F I N I S.

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Baldwin, at the Oxford-  
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F I N I S.



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